

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word process, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Propertyhistoric name Antietam National Battlefield - Additional documentation

other names _____

2. Locationstreet & number _____ ☐ not for publicationcity or town Sharpsburg ☐ vicinitystate Maryland code MD county Washington code 43 zip code _____**3. State/Federal Agency Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☐ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying office/Title _____

Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying office/Title _____

Date _____

Maryland Historical Trust

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

I hereby, certify that this property is:

☐ entered in the National Register.☐ See continuation sheet.☐ determined eligible for the National Register.☐ See continuation sheet.☐ Determined not eligible for the National Register.☐ removed from the National Register.☐ other (explain): _____

Signature of the Keeper _____

Date of Action _____

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5. Classification**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☐ private
☐ public-local
☐ public-State
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- ☐ building(s)
☐ district
☐ site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing

Noncontributing

27

15

buildings

sites

12

structures

8

objects

Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

number of contributing resource previously listed in the National Register**6. Function of Use****Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

7. Description**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions)

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation

walls

roof

other

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets)

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Physical Description:

These continuation sheets constitute an update of the existing National Register nomination for Antietam National Battlefield, near Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland. The boundaries of the current National Register Nomination follow the authorized boundaries of the National Park, established by congress. The same boundaries for the Antietam National Battlefield Historic District will be kept, but new historic contexts are being added to address particular areas of history pertaining to the battlefield as a historic cultural landscape. Narrative context development was not part of the National Register nomination process in 1980-1981 when the original nomination was developed. The three historic contexts for Antietam being added on the following continuation sheets are: 1) the pre-battle history and agricultural development of the rural community that made up the battlefield. 2) Battle-related history including the effect of the Battle of Antietam on the outcome of the Civil War; the impact of the battle on the surrounding local population; and the issuance and the effect of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. 3) Post-battle memorialization, monumentation and efforts at battlefield preservation.

The physical landscape of the Antietam Battlefield played an important role in the development of the 1862 battle. Natural features of the rolling landscape between the Antietam Creek and Potomac River, as well as access to bridges and fords, dictated many of the troop movements and artillery locations, and ultimately the military objectives of the battle. Cultural landscape features, particularly roads, fields, and woodlots associated with the farms located within and around the battlefield area, also influenced decisions concerning troops and artillery. Many of these natural and cultural landscape features remain today, making Antietam one of the most well preserved Civil War battlefields in the United States. However, some of the cultural landscape features have changed, particularly the loss of woodlot acreage and orchards, a result of changes in farming practices over the years. The addition of battlefield tour roads and monuments, beginning in the 1890s as part of the memorialization and commemoration of the battle, has also impacted the battlefield landscape.

Also recorded on these continuation sheets is documentation for the National Register of Historic Places for properties within the Park's authorized boundaries that have been acquired since 1981. Among these properties are the D.R. Miller Farm, Otto House, the Alfred Poffenberger Farm, the Roulette Farm, the Cunningham Farm, the Shull Tract, the Fulk House and property located behind it. Most of these properties were identified and discussed in the 1980 nomination, but have been studied further in intervening years. This activity necessitates the updating of the National Register nomination documentation. In addition there are properties which have long been held by the park, but which have had extensive restoration/rehabilitation since 1981, such as the Piper House that was adapted as a Bed and Breakfast in 1985. Also recorded in the following narrative is the Flook farm, which is still privately owned, but protected by scenic easement, and located within the park boundary.

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Each of the nine properties added to the Antietam National Battlefield nomination, through this additional documentation form, were evaluated for their contribution to the historic battlefield park. To be determined a contributing resource the property needs to be related to one of the three historic contexts established above, retain historic integrity, and date from the Period of Significance as established in the 1980 nomination form. The specific Period of Significance as established in the Statement of Significance is September 16-18, 1862, however, the first page of the nomination establishes a broader period of significance to include the late 19th and early 20th century period of commemoration; specifically listing monuments established between 1865 (The Antietam National Cemetery) and 1942 (Lee Headquarters Marker). The nomination indicates that the period of commemoration continued into the 1960s but the nomination does not include any monuments dated past 1942.

This collection of continuation sheets is to be attached to the existing National Register nomination along with updated photographs and maps. The continuation sheets describe the recently acquired properties and amend information for those properties that has changed since the original nomination was prepared. Other continuation sheets will construct historic contexts for the three phases of the park's history listed above and provide current evaluations for the added properties.

1. The Fulk House, 18902 Shepherdstown Pike, Keedysville, MD

The Fulk House is located on a one-acre lot on the north side of Route 34, and along the west side of the Pry House lane. The house, constructed in the 1920s in the American Four Square style, is a 2 1/2-story frame dwelling with hipped roof, on a concrete and cast stone foundation. The three bay front (south) elevation has a central entrance and paired windows with a full-length porch supported with square posts. The front roof elevation has a single central gabled dormer, with fixed six light window. A side gabled one story, one bay, mudroom addition is located on the west elevation of the house, with a modern pressure-treated lumber stair access to the south-facing door. One exterior brick chimney is located on the east elevation of the house, and one interior brick chimney extends from just west of the central peak of the roof. Windows appear to be replacement sash with six over six muntin inserts. The building is sheathed with vinyl siding and the roof is asphalt shingle. The architectural integrity of the house is affected by the application of vinyl siding and replacement windows, but the house still retains the character defining features of the foursquare style, namely the square plan, hipped roof, porch and paired windows.

1 non-contributing building. (Although the Antietam National Battlefield Staff designated the Fulk house as ineligible in 1996 relative to the 1862 battle and the later commemorative period, it could be eligible in other contexts, such as architecture.)

2. The Shull Tract, 17710, Mondell Road, Sharpsburg, MD

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This 11.6 acre tract is located on the west side of Route 65 (the Hagerstown Pike) and along the north side of Mondell Road. Most of the acreage is still under cultivation. The fencerows are lined with mature deciduous trees. The southwest corner of the tract, fronting on Mondell Road, was partitioned off for an approximately ½ acre building lot on which a brick ranch style house was constructed in the 1970s. The rancher, with attached garage, is built into a hill, with a lower story walkout basement in the rear. The surrounding yard is landscaped with pine trees, shrubs, and flowers. Several temporary sheds are present. The house lot, shielded by mature pine trees and located several hundred feet west of the Hagerstown Pike, does not intrude on the visual landscape of the remaining tract, which retains much of its 19th century integrity.

1 non-contributing building (house)

1 contributing site (landscape, Union staging area at the northern edge of the battlefield)

3. The John Flook Farm (Nicodemus Farm), West side, Sharpsburg Pike, Sharpsburg,

MD

The John Flook Farm, known as the Nicodemus Farm during the 1862 Battle of Antietam, is located on the west side of Route 65, along the modern by-pass of the old Hagerstown Pike. The farm, which consists of just over 158 acres, continues to be cultivated and grazed by cattle. It is privately owned, but protected by scenic easement. The building complex associated with the farm is located near the northeast corner of the farm property, fronting onto Route 65. A remnant trace of the Confederate Avenue, constructed by the War Department in the 1890s, runs between the building complex and the modern Route 65. The most prominent feature of the complex of buildings is the c.1875 house, now vacant. Though this two story house post-dates the Battle of Antietam there was an existing farm in this location during the battle and therefore this dwelling may contribute to the agricultural development of the rural community that made up the battlefield. The dwelling is a two story, five bay, frame dwelling, with a five bay ell with continuous, mitered roofline. A distinctive feature of the house is the presence of gables at the south end and the west end of the ell, and a hip joint at the north end. The north and east elevations present identical elevations. When viewed from the northeast, each elevation is defined by symmetrical spacing of six over six sash windows and a central door. A poured concrete pad with iron railings at ground level is located along the east elevation. Three interior brick chimneys are located at the gable ends and at the northeast corner roof peak. Each wing is two bays deep. A bulkhead cellar entrance is located at the base of the south elevation. Along the south elevation of the ell (inside the angle of the ell) is a one-story porch with turned posts. The house is clad with aluminum siding and the roof is covered with asphalt shingles. An abandoned well is located due west of the main house.

The interior of the dwelling house, while deteriorated, is largely in keeping with the 1870s construction date. Walls are plastered over machined lath. Doors have four recessed panels with cast iron hardware of a type readily available in the 1870s. The front (east) entrance opens into a central stair hall. The stair has shallow risers and a turned newel post. The main parlor

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occupies the southeast end of the house. The dominant feature of this room is the projecting fireplace with wood mantelpiece. The mantel carving has stylized gothic arches and a turned, relief-drop piece in the center below the mantelshelf. The northeast parlor opens into a dining room to the west. The mantelpiece in this room was strictly decorative, with no firebox and baseboard running across its base. A shallow mantelshelf projects above a single horizontal panel across the frieze. A door in the south wall of the dining room leads to the kitchen occupying the northwest end of the house. The kitchen has a fireplace in the west wall.

Immediately behind the house, to the south and west are two small frame sheds and a frame wash house/out kitchen with six over six sash windows, a brick exterior chimney, and German siding. Also located west of the main house, past several frame and metal farm sheds is the large, cantilevered, "Swisser" style barn, constructed of heavy hand-hewn timber frame on limestone foundation, probably dating to the early or mid 19th century. The barn appears to be in excellent condition with freshly painted vertical siding and metal roof with a straight roofline. It continues to house cattle on the farm. Later additions to the barn include a frame equipment shed on the north elevation and a concrete silo. A small turnout shed is located immediately southeast of the barn. Located south of the main house is an early 19th century log wagon shed and corncrib, with unpainted vertical siding. South of the wagon shed are several modern farm buildings, including a large metal equipment shed, and two metal roofed, wire corn cribs.

Also located on the grounds of the farm, southeast of the main house, and immediately west of the old Confederate Ave. (formerly a farm lane), are foundation remains rumored to be that of a blacksmith's shop. The stone-lined well associated with the location of the 1862 Nicodemus house is located in the field to the south of the building complex, following the old Confederate Ave. south. The former house site is east of the well, and is now under cultivation. A cast iron Park Service tablet along MD Route 65 points to the location of the house that was present at the time of the battle.

7 contributing buildings (house, 2 frame sheds, washhouse/out kitchen, wagon shed/corncrib, turnout shed)

3 contributing sites (Nicodemus Heights artillery area, earlier house/well, and smith shop)

1 non-contributing building (metal equipment shed)

4. Roulette Farm, 18100 Bloody Lane, Sharpsburg, MD

The Roulette Farm is located in the center of the Antietam Battlefield on a gravel lane leading northeast from the Bloody Lane. The building complex, which includes the dwelling house, forebay bank barn, spring house/slave quarter, ice house, and smoke house, with the later additions of milk house, silo, equipment sheds and garage, retains remarkable integrity to its 19th century occupation. The farm occupies hilly land on the west side of the Antietam Creek. Field demarcations are evident with old stone walls marking their boundaries as well as field access lanes and an old route to the creek.

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The main house is a 1-1/2-story log, frame and stone dwelling on a stone foundation, constructed in three phases with a continuous roofline, although historic photographs indicate that the northernmost log section was raised in height from one story. The house is covered with aluminum siding over all three sections. The south section of the house is of frame construction, four bays wide in a window/window/door/ window pattern with the window lintels at a lower height than the door lintel. The uneven level of the lintels is usually a clue to early construction, associated with the 18th century. The windows are six over six sash. The door has six recessed panels with a four-light transom above it. A stone exterior chimney, extended with brick, is located on the south gable end wall. A brick and stucco interior chimney extends from the north end of the south section (now in the middle of the house). The steeply pitched roof is covered with channeled metal sheets and extends over a wide, one story full length porch, supported with chamfered posts. The south section of the house has one small gabled dormer on the west elevation of the roof.

The center section of the house is of stone construction, two bays wide, with nine over six sash windows that are taller than those found in the south section. Beginning with the center section, the roof does not extend beyond the exterior walls of the house. A small gabled dormer is located on both the east and west roof elevations of the center section. A one room, one story, shed roofed addition is added on the west elevation of the center section. The north section of the house is of log construction, two bays wide, door/window, in a recessed porch supported with chamfered posts. The interior wall of the porch is finished with struck plaster and a baseboard. Windows in this section are six over six sash. The roof has one gabled dormer on both the east and west elevations. A brick and stucco interior, double flue chimney is located in the north gable end. On the north elevation is a one-story stone bake oven/shed with gabled roof. The lower storage area of the bake oven is accessed through a board and batten door on the east elevation of the stone structure. A puncheon system was observed in the ceiling of the storage area, presumably to insulate and support the floor of the bake oven above.

The interior of the Roulette house offers a puzzling collection of materials and construction details. The center stone section and the north end log section are each three-sided constructions, indicating that the stone part was added to an existing building to its south, and the log section was added to the stone section. Yet, the log section retains 18th century woodwork and trim and the early bake oven, while the southernmost section of frame construction has early 19th century detailing, suggesting that it was more recently constructed than the other parts of the house. It, however, is the only part that stands alone as a single structural unit. The frame section contains two rooms and a wide stair and entrance passage. The two rooms are at the south end of the house. The southeast room has a fireplace, the one with the exterior stone chimney. The fireplace mantel has pilasters and a large frieze beneath a broad mantelshelf. The rooms have chairrail with small delicate molding. Window and door architraves are trimmed with Grecian ogee molding. At the first story, English Carpenter Locks with brass knobs are on six panel doors with low relief panels. However, at the second level, flooring is attached with rose-headed

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wrought nails. All other woodwork on the second floor of this frame section is later, dating from the early 19th century. The staircase is enclosed, with a door opening onto the series of steps rising from the west side of the hall. Another door opens into a closet under the stairs. There is no cellar under this section of the house.

Immediately west of the four-sided frame section is the three-sided stone part, with the common wall between the parts being the north wall of the frame section. The stone section consists of one large room with a fireplace in its south wall along with a door into the frame section and two cupboards. A door in the west wall opens into a 20th century shed extension that now contains a bathroom. A third door opens into the log section to the north. The mantelpiece has an architrave with three panels above it and a narrow shelf with a cornice beneath. This mantel suggests a date from the very early 19th century. Window and door architrave moldings are Grecian ogee similar to those in the frame section.

The log section is attached to the north stone wall of the middle section. In its west wall is a large service fireplace that includes an opening with a cast iron door into a brick lined beehive bake oven. The fireplace has been altered with new brick infill, but a bracketed mantelshelf remains. The kitchen has a door in the east wall onto a work porch, and an enclosed winder stairs in the southwest corner of the room that leads to the second floor and to the cellar. Only the log and stone portions of the house have a cellar beneath. The kitchen retains original raised panel doors and architraves with heavy ovalo molding. A cupboard next to the fireplace has been reworked to accommodate two doors with low relief panels from the early or mid 19th century. Thus from readily observable materials in the Roulette house, the two added sections have components that are older than those of the frame section to which the other two parts were added. This property definitely deserves a more detailed architectural analysis than could be done within the scope of this evaluation.

Immediately north of the main house is a log smokehouse/workhouse on a stone foundation, built into the north face of the hill on which the house sits. The steep gabled roof is sheathed with corrugated metal, as are the walls. Rough weatherboard siding covers the gable ends. Just north of the smokehouse is the icehouse. Much of the limestone construction of the icehouse is built into the hillside with only a few feet of stone wall exposed above the grass level, with a gabled, standing seam metal roof with vertical gable end siding. The north gable end of the icehouse extends out from the hill where a frame gable end addition, with board siding and sliding garage-style doors, creates a one-story workshop space. The List of Classified Structures, maintained by the National Park Service, indicates that both the smokehouse and ice house were most likely built in the early nineteenth century.

Northeast of the icehouse is the 1½ story, two room springhouse/slave quarters. The List of Classified Structures, maintained by the National Park Service, shows the springhouse was constructed between 1761 and 1784. Constructed of limestone, the springhouse section now has a concrete floor and is accessed on the west elevation through a board and batten door. The south

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end of the building (the second room), also constructed of limestone, was added later in addition to raising the entire building to 1-½ stories. This section appears to have been slave quarters, with a board and batten door, several 6 over 6 windows, and a brick interior gable end chimney. The steeply pitched, standing seam metal roof overhangs the entrances to the springhouse and slave quarters on the west elevation. Just west of the springhouse is the spring head structure of earth berm, stone and a brick arched vault. Water from the spring flows through a stone recessed channel into the springhouse. Northeast of the springhouse and the springhead is a pond, of unknown construction date.

The Roulette barn, most likely built by William Roulette in the mid-nineteenth century, is located a short distance east of the main house complex. The cantilevered bank barn is constructed of heavy timber frame with a limestone foundation. Built into the hill, the loft area is accessible from the recessed west entrance. The lower story forebay on the east elevation, has been enclosed with concrete blocks and the interior floor covered with poured concrete, apparently for the operation of an approved sanitary dairy area. The barn has vertical board siding overall and a channeled metal roof. Also located around the building complex are stone retaining walls located in front of the house, and stone walls (fences) throughout the farm which have been determined to have been present during the 1862 Battle of Antietam.¹

5 contributing buildings (house, log smokehouse/workshop, icehouse, springhouse/slave quarter, barn)

6 contributing structures (spring head, 3 retaining walls and 2 stone walls/fences)

1 contributing site (battle and staging area)

5. D. R. Miller Farm, 6143 Dunker Church Road, Sharpsburg, MD

Paula S. Reed researched the D. R. Miller farm for a Historical Report produced for the National Park Service in 1991. Much of the following description and statement of significance is taken from that report, with updates for any physical changes, which have occurred since 1991. Please refer to this report and to the subsequent Historic Structures Report for the D.R. Miller farm for more detailed description.

The property known as the D. R. Miller Farm contains approximately 141 acres and is improved with a two story log house, a frame bank barn, a secondary concrete block barn and numerous frame and concrete block sheds and outbuildings. The farmstead is located approximately two miles north of Sharpsburg, on the Antietam Battlefield. The old Sharpsburg-

¹ Per phone conversation on Dec 5, 2007 with Jane Custer, Chief, Cultural Resource Management Division, Antietam National Battlefield: The buildings off the northwest corner of the barn (a block milk house built in 1956, a concrete silo built in 1958, and a metal equipment shed built in 1966) have been demolished. Immediately south of the barn was a frame, small animal shed. Per Jane Custer Dec 5, 2007: This shed has collapsed and the debris has been removed.

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Hagerstown Pike, a road that has been in its present location at least since the late 18th century, separates the house and barn. The house is situated on a rise of ground and faces south, overlooking the barn and the other outbuildings. Although the house was altered substantially in the 1860s, and again about 1950-1960, it was initially constructed in the late 18th century and there is a large amount of remaining 18th century material surviving intact.

The D. R. Miller Farmhouse is a two story, four bay log house on a roughly coursed fieldstone foundation. The exterior surface is sheathed with aluminum siding. A 1½ story shed roofed addition wing of braced corner post log construction extends to the rear or north. Additional first story shed-roofed work porches along the north wall of the main house and east elevation of the wing have been enclosed, likely in the 1960s. The fenestration at the front elevation consists of evenly spaced and aligned windows with narrow frames and 6 over 6 light sash. The main entrance is located in the east bay of the front elevation. At the front door is a one bay entrance porch, which although partially rebuilt appears to contain parts that suggest initial construction during the 1860s. Now the porch rests on a concrete base and is reached by a flight of concrete steps. Original posts and railing have been replaced although the approximate configuration remains the same. A sloped cellar bulkhead projects from the foundation between the first and second bays from the west end. Two 20th century brick exterior chimneys extend up the east and west gable walls. An interior brick chimney is located at the north end of the rear addition.

An interior inspection of the Miller house revealed that there was originally a central chimney around which three or four rooms were located. The southeast room located inside the front entrance shows evidence in the northwest corner of a large kitchen fireplace, now enclosed. To the north, a mudroom, which leads to the northeast enclosed porch, includes enclosed stairs leading to the second floor and stair leading to the cellar through a trap door in the floor. The room west of the kitchen has a raised floor installed in the mid 20th century renovation. In the northeast corner is an 18th century corner fireplace and mantelpiece, now enclosed. The room immediately north (northwest of the kitchen) is similar with the diagonal fireplace located in the southeast corner. Most of the wood moldings in these two rooms appear to date from the 18th century. The northwest room continues into the north addition. A boxed beam running east-west across the ceiling, reveals the location of the original rear wall of the main house. The most northern room (in the addition) has an open fireplace on the north wall. A more detailed description of the first floor interior may be found in the D. R. Miller Farm History Report.

The second story of the D. R. Miller Farmhouse has undergone major alteration, changing the floor plan and character defining elements of the interior space. Two features are noted in the History Report, however, as important to the dating of the two sections of the house. First the staircase to the attic located in northeast corner of the house is original to the initial 18th century building. A notable feature is the ogee and ovalo molded band, which was never painted just under the attic floor as the stairs turn in the corner.

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The attic retains much of its original 18th century components. Floorboards are attached with hand-wrought rose-headed nails and rafters are hewn with joints secured with pegs. In the floor and above it in the roof are patched areas revealing the former location of the central chimney, which once rose through the house.

The cellar is dirt floored and excavated under slightly more than half the area covered by the house. Significant features of the basement include massive stone piers, which supported the central chimney system, and a puncheon flooring system.

Located immediately northeast of the main house are two small cast stone work sheds dating to the 1950s. To the east of the house is a five bay concrete block garage built circa 1950. East of the garage is a concrete block and frame dairy barn and milk house. The dairy barn and milk house were built in 1952. South of the dairy barn is a low concrete block livestock shed built in the 1960s, and a turnout shelter with companion silo built in the 1950s. Located just south of that is a low metal machinery shed built in the 1970s. Immediately east of the machinery shed is a smaller concrete block storage shed built circa 1960.

Also located on the D. R. Miller Farm to the southwest of the main house is a stone walled springhead, and across the old Hagerstown Pike, is the 18th century stone bank barn foundation with a late 19th century frame barn constructed on it. Attached to the barn are two 20th century silos, and several shed roofed additions.

- 2 contributing buildings (house and bank barn)
- 1 contributing structure (springhead)
- 1 contributing site (Cornfield battle area and staging areas)
- 8 non-contributing buildings (all other barns and sheds)

6. The Cunningham Farm, 16442 Shepherdstown Pike, Keedysville, MD

The Cunningham Farm is located on a hill above the west bank of the Antietam Creek, due east of the Piper Farm, and accessed by the a lane running north along the creek from Rt. 34 at the Middle Bridge. The complex of buildings includes a late 19th century or early 20th century tenant house on the lane leading to the main house, an early 19th century barn, the early 19th century main house and out kitchen, and various associated sheds. A mobile home is also located on the property, which is occupied by the life estate tenant.

The main house, which faces east, is a 1½-story log building on a limestone foundation. It was constructed in two phases, observable only from the interior. The front elevation is 5 bays in length at the first story in a window/window/window/door/window pattern. A full length, shed roofed porch supported with chamfered posts extends across the front. The earlier section of the house, the south part of the building, has two bays with two aligned windows on the upper story. Presumably one of the lower bays, now both windows, was originally an entrance; the western-

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most window of the two lower bays does have a higher lintel than the other window, a common characteristic of early doors. Vinyl siding, covering the earlier wood German siding over the entire building, has obscured any changes such as that just described. Windows overall are generally six over six sash, however, nine over six sash were observed at the first story, of the south elevation and the southern-most window of the west elevation. These are both in the apparent oldest section of the house. A door has been cut into the window opening on the upper story of the south gable wall, with a set of modern wooden access stairs leading to it. A concrete block exterior chimney is located on the north section of the west (rear) elevation. Another concrete block chimney is located on the north gable end of the house. A shed roofed one story addition with an outside access door on its east elevation, is attached to the north end wall, extending east from the main building as far as the width of the east porch. The extremely low-pitched, recently replaced roof suggests that the roof was raised to increase the living space on the upper story. The roof is sheathed with asphalt shingles.

Entrance into the farmhouse, through the main door on the south elevation leads into a single, large room, located in the north section, which was apparently used most recently as a kitchen. From the south wall of the room protrudes the encased, formerly exterior, massive stone chimney, showing that the northern log section of the house was a three-walled addition. Two steps up, lead south through an opening in the formerly exterior log wall, into the large room encompassing the entire south end of the house. The room has an enclosed winding staircase to the upper story located in the northeast corner.

The stairs open into the upper story south section of the house, divided into two rooms by partitions of wide beaded board. Each room has a small six over six sash window on the east and west wall. The southernmost room has an outside access door, referred to previously, in the south gable wall. The door opening is unfinished on the interior and the original log construction can be observed at this location. Some riven lath was also observed in the upper story rooms. The single upper story room located in the north addition of the house is separated by the former exterior east log wall, with steps down into the room through a beaded board and batten door with wrought iron strap hinges. A boxed beam runs along the west wall of the room at floor level.

Visible from the attic was new roofing material and remains of the stone chimney between the two sections. Observable architectural evidence suggests that the house was raised from one and a half stories to two full stories, with the present new, shallow roof.

A half cellar, excavated only under the north addition to the house, is accessed through exterior banked doors below the northern-most bay on the east elevation. There are no particularly notable features in the cellar. It has an earth floor, and there is no fireplace or any particular division of space that was observable.

Located southwest of the main house is a log out kitchen with a stone foundation and stone chimney. It has unpainted vertical siding and corrugated metal roof. Attached to the north

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elevation is a masonite shed addition. Southwest of the main house is a frame smokehouse with unpainted German siding, a hipped roof with corrugated metal sheathing and a shed roofed wood shed attached to the north elevation. South of the main house and northeast of the barn is a frame two bay equipment shed with vertical siding. Immediately south of the equipment shed is a frame small animal shed with vertical siding. Both buildings have corrugated metal roofs.

The large cantilevered forebay bank barn is located south of the main house. It is constructed of heavy hand hewn timber, post and beam framing, with a cut limestone foundation, and faces south. The barn is clad with vertical board siding and a channeled metal roof. A dormer has been added to the south roof elevation to house a pulley system to lift or lower material to and from the barnyard. On the east gable end a two story, one bay, drive through wagon shed and corncrib appears to have been added after the main barn was constructed. A dry-laid stone retaining wall encloses the southern edge of the animal yard, south of the barn.

A mobile home, occupied by the life estate tenant, was located immediately north of the main house. A metal garden shed is located southwest of the main house.²

The tenant house associated with the Cunningham Farm is located south of the main farm complex fronting on the west side of the access lane and facing east toward the Antietam Creek. It is a two story, three bay frame house, resting on a cut limestone foundation. The central entrance is offset to the south of center, otherwise the windows are symmetrically placed. Windows are long and narrow, with two over two sash. A gabled one bay entrance porch sits on a raised stone foundation. The house foundation is partially excavated into the hill above the creek, exposing nearly a half-story on the east elevation of the cellar, where two windows are placed with wooden horizontal bars across them. The basement is divided into two rooms with a stone wall through the center. Access to the cellar through steel doors is located on the north elevation. A shed roofed, one story enclosed porch addition is located at the west elevation. Brick inside end chimneys are located in the gable ends of the house. The roof covering is channeled metal. The house is sheathed in vinyl siding. The foundation and cellar with nicely cut stonework and wooden-barred windows are circa 1860, the frame structure on the stone foundation is circa 1900.

A retaining wall along the west side of the access lane is described in the 1999 Determination of Eligibility by National Park Service historian, Richard Quin as original to the main farm complex property.

7 contributing buildings (house, log out kitchen, frame smokehouse, frame equipment shed, animal shed, bank barn, tenant house foundation,)

2 contributing structures (stone retaining walls)

3 non-contributing buildings (tenant house frame section, metal shed and mobile home)

² Per Jane Custer Dec 6, 2007: The mobile home has been demolished.

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7. The Otto Farm

The Otto House and grounds are located on the south side of Old Burnside Bridge Road on a hill overlooking the Sherrick Farm. The house is a 2 story corner post diagonally braced log building on a limestone foundation with an attached one and a half story kitchen extension, also of log construction. The house is built into the north face of the hill, fronting onto Burnside Bridge Road. The north (front) elevation is constructed into the slope with a raised basement. The main story of the north elevation is eight bays in length, the west or main section with five bays and a central entrance, and the east kitchen section with three bays in a window/window/door pattern. Windows have nine over six sash within wide frames with ovalo trim. A one story full-length shed roofed porch is tenoned into the corner posts on the east elevation. It is elevated above the basement story. Along the porch, the house wall is finished with plaster and baseboard. There is evidence that a similarly tenoned one bay porch was located at the rear central entrance of the west section, with a plastered wall and baseboard as well. The rear porch is now shed roofed with 2 square support posts on a concrete pad. The west section of the house has two brick interior chimneys in the gable ends. The east section of the house appears as 1 1/2 stories at the south elevation, with a steeply pitched roof terminating as a porch overhang. A massive exterior brick chimney is located on east gable end wall.

Interior inspection reveals the east section of the house to be a slightly later three-sided addition to the west section. Asbestos shingle siding over the entire building covers original beaded siding on the east elevation and German siding exposed on the south elevation.

The interior of the main section of the Otto House is divided into four rooms at the first story, bisected by a central stair and entrance hall. The two east rooms, however, have been opened into one, with a boxed beam supporting the span just to the south of the chimney wall. The interior retains original chairrail, baseboard, mantels and trim. Mantels have a simple architrave with ovalo molded trim beneath a small shelf. Interior doors have six low relief panels, except for one door on the second floor, east side that has raised panels. The attic of the east kitchen extension provides a view of the east end wall of the main section from its exterior side. There the cornerpost log construction with diagonal bracing is exposed, along with original gable siding. Lack of weathering on these materials indicates that the kitchen wing was attached at the time of construction of the main section or shortly thereafter.

The architectural features of the Otto house suggest a construction date of approximately 1800, give or take a few years. One notable feature of the interior is the carved initials of a Union soldier in a second story north side windowsill. The Otto house retains a high level of integrity to the Civil War period and before.

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Only one outbuilding remains standing on the grounds of the Otto House, a small frame shed on a concrete foundation with vertical board siding. The building served as a workshop and hog barn. It also contains a privy. This little building dates from the mid-20th century.

The foundation remains of the Otto barn are located southwest of the house. The barn was demolished sometime between 1940-1960, according to park personnel.

- 1 contributing buildings (house)
- 1 contributing structure (barn ruins)
- 1 contributing site (battlefield and hospital)
- 1 non-contributing (shed/hog barn)

8. Locher House/A. Poffenberger Farm

The building complex associated with the 112 acre Locher/A. Poffenberger Farm is located on the west side of the modern Route 65 by-pass. The buildings are just northwest of the old intersection of the commemorative routes known as Confederate Ave. and Starke Ave., on the western edge of the historic West Woods. Included in the group is the log dwelling house, bank barn, and stone root cellar, as well as several 20th century sheds.

The log dwelling house, currently in an advanced state of decay, is a one and a half story, single pen construction on stone foundation, with a three-sided timber frame one-room addition on the north end. Historic photos show there was another log section on the south end of the building, which is no longer in evidence. The log section now standing is devoid of siding, exposing extremely weathered hewn and round logs. The corner notch pattern is a steeply pitched V-notch, generally associated with early settlement (mid-late 18th century) construction. Riven weatherboard covering the south gable also indicates an early construction. Weatherboard on the south gable indicates the southern section no longer standing would have been a three sided addition as well, and that the log section standing is the oldest section of the dwelling. The house has two bays on the south elevation, a window and a door; and two bays on the east elevation of the log section with replacement window openings with flat architraves. The west elevation of the log section has one bay, an original small square window opening. The north frame addition has board and batten siding and one window and a door in east elevation, and one window in the west elevation.

The interior of the dwelling was viewed from the entrance and through windows due to the unstable condition of the building. The dwelling is entered through the door on the south elevation, opens directly into the single room of the log section with exposed log ceiling joists hewn only on their top sides. A winding stair to the loft above is located in the southwest corner. Entrance into the frame section is through a doorway on the north wall of the log section. On the south wall of the addition, the original north exterior log wall, is a brick chimney with an open

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fireplace in the north room addition. Stairs leading to the loft of the north room are located in the northwest corner of the room.

A stone vaulted root cellar is built into the hillside south of the dwelling house. The cellar has recently been restored and a replacement board and batten door covers the entrance. The north (rear) wall of the cellar shows evidence of a vent opening, which has since been enclosed with stone. South of the dwelling and root cellar is the original stone foundation of the bank barn with a later, low profile, gambrel roof structure constructed on it. Off the northwest corner of the barn is a concrete block milk house built circa 1950.

A historic road trace is located between the barn and house.

- 2 contributing buildings (house, barn)
- 2 contributing structures (root cellar, road trace)
- 1 contributing site (house extension/archaeological site)
- 1 non-contributing (milk house)

9. The Piper House, Sharpsburg Pike, Sharpsburg, MD

In 1984-1985, the Piper House was leased to a private tenant who rehabilitated it into a Bed and Breakfast facility. The National Park Service approved all work done to the building. The only exterior alterations were at the rear of the building, where a small two-story addition containing bathrooms was constructed at the southeast corner, a rear access porch and second floor entrances. The Piper house now has four bedrooms with private baths, a kitchen and two parlors. The original mid 19th century woodwork remains in the log section of the house.

The Piper House is a two-story, four bay west-facing log dwelling, built in two parts. A two-story frame L-extension was added to the rear elevation in 1913. Windows and trim, German siding and a standing seam roof were added at the same time. Originally, the north section of the log portion of the house was only one story high with a large service fireplace in the north end. That was raised to two stories and the fireplace removed when the early 20th century kitchen addition was constructed. This sequence of construction was revealed when the renovations were underway in 1985.

The National Park Service restored the Piper barn in the early 1980s, as well as the secondary residence. These buildings received new roofs and siding and some structural repair, but their appearance did not change, other than they are cleaner, repaired and better maintained.

- 5 contributing buildings (house, secondary residence, smokehouse, root cellar, barn)
- 1 contributing site (headquarters site, battlefield and staging area)

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Contributing and Non-contributing Resource Addendum Totals (November 1999)

Contributing buildings: 32

Contributing structures: 12

Contributing sites: 9

Non-contributing buildings: 15

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8. Statement of Significance**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- ☐ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history.
- ☐ **B** Property associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ **D** Property as yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply)

Property is:

- ☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ **B** removed from its original location.
- ☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.
- ☐ **D** a cemetery.
- ☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ **F** a commemorative property.
- ☐ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets)

Area of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance**Significant Dates****Significant Person**

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation**Architect/Builder****9. Major Bibliographical References****Bibliography**

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets)

Previous documentation on files (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey

- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary location of additional data:

- ☐ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Name of repository: _____

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Statement of Significance:

Historical Summary

The Antietam battlefield offers layers of history, which interlock and overlap with one another. In addition to the nationally significant history of having a pivotal battle of the Civil War fought on the landscape, the battlefield farms are an important slice of regional history rooted in the rich soil cultivated and developed into prosperous farms by German husbandmen. The battlefield is therefore a cohesive entity as a rural historic landscape. The landscape itself had a profound affect on the agricultural development of the area and specifically on the course and outcome of the Battle of Antietam.

A few pioneering farmers and fur traders initially settled the area in the 1730s and 1740s. At that time Maryland's frontier or "back country" had just been opened for settlement by Lord Baltimore, and Germans were migrating through the area to create settlements in Virginia. Seeking to develop the back portions of Maryland, Lord Baltimore began to encourage settlement on his colony's frontier. Speculators from eastern Maryland responded by acquiring large tracts for subdivision and resale to German farmers. As settlement progressed, political divisions of the frontier occurred. Until 1748, the Antietam area was part of Prince George's County. Afterward it was Frederick County until 1776 when Washington County was formed.

Settlement was sparse until the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, and the end of Pontiac's rebellion the following year. Thereafter, settlement progressed rapidly as transportation routes improved and word of the rich farmland in the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys spread. The land was made fertile by numerous limestone outcrops, which give special visual character to the landscape as well as providing material for buildings and fences. The English speculators who had acquired large grants of land as investments began to subdivide and sell into smaller lots of 100-300 acres which were ideal for a profitable family farm. These farms were divided into fields of 20-40 acres and planted with small grains and corn or clover. Other lands were left in pasture and woodlots, as the process of clearing the land was slow. Woodlot and pasture functions were often combined in areas where rock outcrops made cultivation difficult. Allowing cattle and hogs to forage through woodlands helped to keep them open and clear. As farms developed and inhabitants prospered, towns and villages grew to support the local population. Sharpsburg shares with Hagerstown the title of being the oldest established town in Washington County. Both were incorporated in 1763, although settlements were present on their sites earlier.

The area prospered, achieving a high level of cultivation and development during the period from 1760-1860. Most of the substantial farmhouses and "Swisser" barns common to the region were constructed between 1790 and 1850.³ Favored building materials for houses were

³ The large "Swisser" barns with cantilevered forebays and a ramp or bank at the back are a hallmark of central Maryland and south central Pennsylvania rural landscapes. These buildings were vernacular adaptations influenced by the dominant

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log (nearly always covered with siding or stucco), native limestone, or brick (most brick farmhouses in the area date from after 1820). The earliest barns were log or limestone with brick or timber framing favored after the 1830s.

By the time of the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the area was well established and intensively farmed. Farms were characterized by fields and boundaries marked with wood or stone fences, orchards and small herds of cattle, hogs and sheep, and flocks of chickens and geese. Farms had carefully maintained woodlots kept to supply firewood, building materials and fencing. Demand for wood was great in the 19th century with the need for construction material and fuel (most households consumed about 10 cords of wood per year for heating). Historic photographs affirm the massive consumption of wood, revealing that the landscape at the time of the Civil War had far fewer trees than are seen today.

The prosperity of the greater region led to its being served by important transportation routes, a good system of turnpikes, the National Road, C&O Canal and the B&O Railroad. These amenities and the overall prosperity of the region were certainly factors influencing Confederate General Robert E. Lee's decision to enter Maryland and occupy the portion of it consisting of the Cumberland Valley in September of 1862. Among Lee's several goals was a desire to take pressure away from Virginia in supplying the needs of the Army. He wanted to draw the Union Army away from their base of supplies and he hoped to gain support for the Confederate cause from Great Britain. He also seemed to believe that there were enough Confederate supporters in central Maryland to yield a new source of fighting men. Finally, he hoped that by entering the North, citizens would pressure congress for a negotiated end to the hostilities. What war weary and hungry Confederate soldiers saw as they moved into the Sharpsburg area was a collection of rich, lush farms offering seemingly boundless food and supplies. They did not, however, have an opportunity to linger and enjoy the fruits of the land, unless they remained among the many wounded who recuperated in local field hospitals for weeks after the Battle of Antietam.

For the people of the Sharpsburg area, the effects of the Battle of Antietam continued for months, even years afterward. Claims to the government for damages were delayed because verification of who caused the destruction was difficult (the Federal government only reimbursed

German culture in the region. According to Robert F. Ensminger the early log Sweitzer barn is comparable in size and form to the double-log-crib eave-forebay bank barn of Prätigau, Canton Graubünden Switzerland. The Swisser barn is also known as a Sweitzer barn or a Bank barn. The lower stories were generally for stock and the upper stories were used for the storage of hay. Though these two story barns, with a cantilevered forebay, may vary in their specific details, there is one consistent feature; the tie beam always fastens over the roof plate in a complex tying joint that locks into the end post. The evolution of these barns from log through timber to the "Classical Sweitzer Barn," typically constructed of stone, roughly parallels the cultural development of the region from uncertain frontier agriculture to a more stable agricultural economy. Stone, a more appropriate building material for the larger structures of the early nineteenth century, reflected the Palatine homeland of many of the Pennsylvania Germans who provided the form for these distinctive barns.

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property owners for damages caused by Union troops), and it was also sometimes difficult for the Government to establish the applicant's loyalty. In most cases, claims were not paid until the 1880s. In the meantime, farmers had to reconstruct miles of destroyed fencing, replace livestock that had been slaughtered or driven off by the armies, and absorb the loss of crops trampled by men and equipment. In addition, shot and shells damaged buildings, wagons and harnesses were taken and stored crops were confiscated as food and fodder for army livestock. Long-term impacts included the danger presented by unexploded artillery shells in the ground, which made it difficult for farmers to plow fields the following spring, and pollution of the local springs and wells from the visitation of some 120,000 soldiers with their accompanying horses and mules. Hasty burial of the dead and improper disposal of severed arms and legs and dead horses added to the post battle pollution problem and contributed to a local typhoid epidemic. Caring for the sick and wounded also overtaxed the local population.

On a more national scale, the Battle of Antietam and the Maryland Campaign had an impact on the outcome of the Civil War. Robert E. Lee failed to accomplish his goals with the invasion of the North, in part because the loss of a copy of his plan for the campaign to Union forces caused unexpected changes of strategy. While neither side scored a decisive victory at Antietam, the fact that the Confederates withdrew, gave President Lincoln the long hoped for opportunity to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation announced the liberation of slaves in the rebelling states and changed the stakes of the War from a challenge over the permanency of the Union to a challenge for the social and economic fabric of the South. The moral issues involved made it more difficult for the South to find support for its war effort among foreign governments.

Years after the War, the Antietam Battlefield presented a case study in commemorating battlefields from the Civil War. Antietam became a model for government protection by acquisition of minimal amounts of land by the War Department for placement of monuments and access ways to them. In the late 19th century and the early 20th century the placement of monuments and roadways created a collection of structures that are now part of the Battlefield scene. Although they interrupt the historic landscape, they were placed by veterans of the battle and have formed another historic layer in the Battlefield's experience.

One memorialization effort is important as being nearly contemporary with the Civil War. The Antietam National Cemetery was dedicated in 1867, as a memorial resting-place for Union dead from Antietam. Annual ceremonies and visitations to the cemetery became one of the first celebrations of Memorial Day in the United States.

In recent years, preservation of the battlefield has become an important issue as residential and commercial development have created pressure to convert the landscape from its traditional agricultural use into suburban housing or commercial functions to capitalize on a growing tourist industry. New efforts to meet this challenge have resulted in innovative easement programs and partnerships with government and private groups to protect the Battlefield and its environs.

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I. Settlement and Agricultural Development of the Land in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

The history of European settlement of the western regions of Maryland, beyond the Blue Ridge Mountain range of South Mountain, begins after the 1732 proclamation of Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, opening the western frontier of Maryland to settlement. The promise of large land grants attracted the English land speculators of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay and southern Maryland. The promise of the rich, well-watered farmland attracted the German farmers of Pennsylvania who bought smaller tracts of 150-300 acres from the wealthy landholders.⁴

In 1732, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland, issued a proclamation opening Maryland's frontier for settlement. This was an effort to increase population and consequently income from the "back" parts of the colony. In part this was in response to an economic depression that had gripped the tobacco market intermittently since the mid 1600s. Tobacco planters devised various means to keep the price of tobacco up, such as limitation of production, destruction of inferior tobacco and prohibitions on shipping poor quality tobacco. The bottom line was that the amount of tobacco being produced was greater than the demand for it in British and European markets.⁵ The depth of this depression occurred about 1730. For Monocacy Hundred (a hundred was an area of land inhabited by a hundred taxables) which included the area of Maryland from Frederick County west in the 1730s, lists of taxables were prepared in 1733, containing 106 names. Also a list with 83 names was made in 1734 by constable John Nelson, of those individuals who had no tobacco burnt as part of the price support program then in effect.⁶ This shows that tobacco cultivation had been practiced at least to some extent in the western parts of Maryland. What is not clear, however, is whether those whose names appeared on the list as not having their tobacco burnt, grew no tobacco at all, or whether they grew high quality tobacco that was marketed and not destroyed.

Another aspect of the improved economy of Maryland after the early 1730s was the development of the western parts of the province. Influences on the course of settlement of Maryland's frontier were political, economic and geographic. Until Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon began their survey to establish a line between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in 1765, the boundary was contested, sometimes hotly. The border disputes and the attitudes of

⁴Paula S. Reed, History Report: The D.R. Miller Farm, Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland. Hagerstown, MD: Preservation Associates, Inc., 1991, p. 1.

⁵Aubrey C. Land, "Provincial Maryland," Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. Maryland, A History, Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974, p. 34.

⁶Tracey and Dern, p. 129.

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the two colonial governments to settlers along the border area affected the course of settlement as did the relationship of the colonial governments with the Indians who held land along the western frontier.

Frank W. Porter claims that "during the early decades of the eighteenth century economic and political conditions in Maryland mitigated against any westward movement."⁷ He cites several factors delaying settlement in western Maryland, including border disputes of the 1730s and 1740s, the threat of Indians, the holding of warrants by speculators to large tracts of western land issued by the land office, and environmental misconceptions concerning the agricultural potential of western Maryland.⁸

Both Maryland and Pennsylvania encouraged settlers to establish themselves in the border areas so that each colony would have a presence there. Those settlers of course were being used as pawns by both governments, a fact that resulted in no small frustration to them. Taking advantage of the intense Maryland-Pennsylvania border controversy, Virginia's governor, William Gooch, granted the unhappy settlers from Pennsylvania land in his colony's backcountry. Gooch's motives, too, were political. He was involved in a land dispute with Thomas Lord Fairfax over the extent of Fairfax's Northern Neck Charter,⁹ an area covering present northern Virginia and the eastern panhandle of West Virginia. The more land Gooch could grant under the name of the colonial government, the weaker that the Fairfax claim would be. Gooch's land policy resulted in a stream of settlers from Pennsylvania passing through Maryland on their way to Virginia. They traveled on two principal routes, both known as the "Monocacy Road." The boundary dispute in Virginia and the migration of settlers passing through Maryland provided the impetus for Lord Baltimore to open his backcountry for settlement. He issued his proclamation in 1732, offering 200 acres of land in fee, subject to a four shilling per year quitrent per each 100 acres to any family who would settle and work the land in the area between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers.¹⁰ He thus employed methods similar to Governor Gooch's to entice settlers to Maryland's backcountry.¹¹

The opening of the backcountry by Lord Baltimore only served to encourage profit-seeking speculators who could hold the land by warrant and thus not be subject to the quitrent. In other words, they would have the land warranted and surveyed, which would hold the land in

⁷Frank W. Porter, "From Back Country to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70, (Winter 1975), p. 329.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid. p. 334.

¹⁰Ibid. quoting *Maryland Archives*, 28:25.

¹¹Ibid. p. 334.

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their name, but not have it patented or actually granted which would make it subject to the quitrent. As might be expected, this practice eventually elicited concern within Maryland's colonial government, which responded by investigating the methods employed in reserving lands or warrants without issuing patents. Daniel Dulaney, a member of the committee investigating the situation (who was also among the early survey holders in Western Maryland), considered the practice "one which had prevented 'Great Quantities of Lord Baltimore's back Waste Lands (now of no Use or Advantage to Him) from being taken up and paid for.'"¹²

Dulaney's reference to the backcountry as "Waste Lands" is also significant. The early perception of much of the area west of the tidewater, was of uninhabitable barrens. The term "waste lands" and "barrens" came about because portions of the interior were grasslands. To early eighteenth century settlers, trees were associated with fertility of the soil, so that the absence of trees meant to them poor and barren land. The interior land was also not particularly well suited to the production of tobacco. Frank Porter considers this misconception concerning fertility of the land one of the causes of delayed settlement in Maryland's backcountry.¹³ The notion that the land might not be fertile, however, did not seem to discourage wealthy planter-merchants from eastern Maryland from purchasing large tracts as investments.

It is significant that much of the actual settlement population in what is today Washington County came from Pennsylvania, rather than from eastern Maryland. During its initial settlement period, Pennsylvania, unlike most of the other colonies was distinctly heterogeneous in its mix of populations. The varied group of settlers who made homes in Pennsylvania did so because of a policy established by the founder of the colony, William Penn. Pennsylvania was established significantly later than most of the other colonies. After its organization in 1681, Pennsylvania grew quickly, and its major city, Philadelphia, came to be for a time the second largest city in the British Empire. The success of Pennsylvania's colonization was in part due to William Penn's foresight and long range development plan and also to the settlers' quest for a better life.

The Cumberland Valley, bounded on the east by South Mountain and on the west by the first of the Appalachian Mountain ranges, encompassed the western settled region of Pennsylvania in the 1730s and '40s. Following the valley south, the trail of the mostly German pioneers of Pennsylvania, who were seeking fertile land to grow their wheat and other grains, led through the valley of the Antietam and the Conococheague drainages, to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, crossing the Potomac River at the Packhorse Ford. Packhorse Ford is located about a mile south of the present highway and bridge across the Potomac at Shepherdstown.

¹²Ibid. quoting Maryland Archives, 37:506.

¹³Ibid. p. 337, and I. Daniel Rupp, *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams and Perry Counties*, (Lancaster, PA: Gilbert Hills, 1846), p. 385.

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The road the travelers followed was referenced in many of the early land patents as the "Waggon Road," including a patent granted to Richard Sprigg in 1736 called "Piles Grove" (sometimes referred to as "Piles Delight"), located between the Potomac River and Antietam Creek just north of Sharpsburg. The survey certificate, dated 1734, described the property as "beginning at a White Oak near a small branch and near a large spring..about a mile from a road called the Waggon Road ..."¹⁴ Another early description of the "Waggon Road" is found in the 1739 patent to John Hanthorn for "Saint John," located near the town of Tilghmanton today, it reads "...on east side of the waggon road that leads from the Potomac River by Stulls Mill..."¹⁵ (Stull's Mill was at or near Hagerstown). Clearly, a very early road or roads passed through the Antietam drainage to the ford of the Potomac River. The Conococheague Road, also mentioned in early patents, passed through the valley, east to west from South Mountain to the ford at Williamsport, roughly followed by Dog Street and Keedysville Roads today. Weary travelers seeking good land and fast water must have been greatly tempted by what they saw along the banks of the Antietam Creek. Some of these people did choose to settle in the Antietam valley. This early tenancy of German settlers seems to be supported by the establishment of German denomination churches in the area, as cited by Bell in The History of the Leitersburg District: "There was a German Reformed congregation at Conococheague as early as 1747,... a German Lutheran congregation at Antietam in 1754," noting that there were numerous other German churches established in the 1760s, substantially outnumbering the English churches.¹⁶ These early pioneer settlements were apparently referenced by their general location like Monocacy, Antietam and Conococheague. These place names did not refer to specific locations but rather to settlement areas.

Because of their foreign language and customs the Germans were both praised and disliked by the English-speaking people. They were generally acknowledged as being hardworking, industrious and good farmers, but the English felt overwhelmed by their sheer numbers. Eventually there was enough concern on the part of Pennsylvania's colonial government to undertake efforts to control Germans to prevent an "English plantation from being turned into a colony of aliens."¹⁷

The reaction of English-speaking people to the Germans was probably due substantially to the language difference and exclusive religious philosophy held by some Germans, which encouraged them to remain a distinct and close-knit group reluctant to blend with their neighbors. In central Maryland, for example, German-language newspapers were printed well into the

¹⁴Washington County Land Patents, Book 1, Page 1, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹⁵Tracey plat map of Washington County, Washington County Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

¹⁶Herbert C. Bell, History of Leitersburg District, Washington County, Maryland. Leitersburg, MD: Published by the author, 1898, (3rd Edition, Waynesboro, PA: The Caslon Press, 1985) p. 10

¹⁷Speech of Governor Patrick Gordon, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1840), 3:362.

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nineteenth century and German was spoken in church services. These conditions supported the attitude of separateness, perceived or real, attributed to the Germans.

As settlement progressed from the initial interests of fur trading and subsistence farming there developed more substantial farms. Grain farming was prominent, and as a result many gristmills were established. The mills took advantage of the ample waterpower in Washington County to convert grain into more easily transportable and marketable flour or meal. The prominence of milling was a significant feature of the local economy. It reflects the influence of Pennsylvania in that Washington County developed a general agricultural economy with emphasis on small grains, rather than the staple economy focusing on tobacco (despite the attempts by large landowners like Charles Carroll) which developed in eastern Maryland. Lemon asserts that Pennsylvania's economy based on general farming was largely the result of markets that opened up at the time that Pennsylvania was being settled. Export trade with the West Indies, New England, southern Europe and Ireland, as well as to ships' provisioners, created a demand for flour, bread, wheat, as well as corn, lumber and flax seed.¹⁸ These trade markets opened up after older colonies like Virginia and Maryland had established bilateral trade with England, which limited their ability to develop an exchange in new commodities. Pennsylvania was founded about the same time as these new extended trade mechanisms were developed, causing its agricultural system to be significantly shaped by the contemporary market situation.¹⁹ In contrast to Pennsylvania, according to Lemon, the tobacco colonies to the south had a lower average living standard, a slower rate of white population growth, and few subsequent towns, at least until they turned to wheat production. Unlike Pennsylvania's farmers and merchants, tidewater planters were restricted to trade with London and Glasgow merchants in a commercial structure which permitted less autonomy and flexibility.²⁰ We find that the economies of the tidewater plantation system and the general agriculture of small family farms introduced from Pennsylvania met in central Maryland during the middle third of the 18th century.

That the German settlers of the first half of the 18th century were tenants on the land rather than owners seems to be supported by the land patent records of Washington County. Most of the earliest land patents, dated between 1730 and 1740, were granted to men of English or Scotch/Irish descent, who never intended to live on the land. The list of men included such prominent names as Charles Carroll and Daniel Dulaney whose homes were in eastern Maryland

¹⁸Lemon, p. 29, citing Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*, (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), chap. 1, and Gordon Bjork, "The Weaning of the American Economy: Independence, Market Changes and Economic Development," *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964): 545.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid. p. 127.

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and who were kept busy as lawyers and statesmen in Annapolis. Clearly much of this land was being rented to people willing to clear and work the land.

In the lower Antietam drainage, the area that would later be known as the Sharpsburg District, the predominant landowner was Joseph Chapline. Joseph was of English heritage and had grown up on a plantation in southern Maryland. His "manorial" grant of 1739, which he called "Mount Pleasant," from Charles Calvert included just over 2,000 acres and required that he live on his plantation bringing English civilization to the wilderness. Chapline's southern Maryland upbringing must have influenced his decision to grow tobacco on his plantation, a crop not suited to the weather or soil of western Maryland. His tobacco fields later became the footprint of his new town of Sharpsburg, indicating that tobacco was probably not a successful crop.²¹ Other early landowners in the lower Antietam drainage included James Smith, probably from Scotland, and Dr. George Stuart (Stewart), also from Scotland, Col. Edwin (Edward) Sprigg, and the previously mentioned Richard Sprigg.

The German settlers had a profound influence on the development of agriculture in the Antietam drainage. Their already established pattern of grain production and mill construction would be repeated in the fertile fields and on the banks of the Antietam Creek. Stull's Mill, on the upper Antietam and the Witmer Mill, located on Beaver Creek and also apparently owned by the Stull family, were both established by 1739.²² The combination of rich limestone land, established roads and waterpower made the valley of the Antietam a nearly perfect place for a grain economy. Also, the less temperate weather and more restricted land area of the valley made the cultivation of tobacco difficult. Tobacco, the traditional money crop of the English plantations of Maryland, was a plant with a long growing season. Tobacco also required a great deal of land to allow the movement of crops as the demanding tobacco plant exhausted the soil. It is likely that the perceived inability to produce profitable crops preferred by the English, allowed the German settlers to establish their farming style early in the development of the Antietam valley, and also contributed to the perception among the English that the land was barren.

The French and Indian War interrupted settlement of the western regions of Maryland beginning with the defeat of General Braddock in 1755 and lasting to 1763. Most of the Antietam drainage settlers fled east of the South Mountain for protection. A letter written by George Washington to Lord Fairfax of Virginia noted that all but two families had fled the

²¹Lee and Barbara Barron, The History of Sharpsburg Maryland. Barbara and Lee Barron, 1972, pp. 12-14.

²²Susan Winter Frye, Mill Settlement Patterns Along the Antietam Creek Drainage, Washington County, Maryland. Bound thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984, p. 38.

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settlement called Conococheague.²³ The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, however, began the process of resettlement and the development of the Antietam drainage area progressed rapidly. The southern migration of German farmers from Pennsylvania accelerated. The granting of land patents increased accordingly, however, German owners became increasingly common. No doubt many of the earlier land speculators were cashing in on their investments. In the lower Antietam drainage, Joseph Chapline, James Smith, and Col. Sprigg in particular began to sell parcels of their large holdings.

In 1762 Christian Orndorff, a German miller, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, purchased 503 acres of "Smith's Hills" from James Smith, on the banks of the Antietam Creek.²⁴ The next year, in 1763, Joseph Chapline founded the town of Sharpsburg just over a mile from the home of Christian Orndorff. An indicator that the Sharpsburg area was being populated by German settlers is the establishment in 1768 of first the Lutheran Church and then the German Reformed Church. In 1765 Chapline and three other investors established the Antietam Iron Works, near the mouth of the Antietam Creek. The same year Thomas Van Swearingen was given permission to begin running a ferry across the Potomac River just three miles west of Sharpsburg to Shepherdstown, then in Virginia.²⁵ (Shepherdstown was also established in 1763). It is likely that Christian Orndorff had by this time constructed his mill. A 1768 petition to the Frederick County Court called for changes to the road "from Christian Orndorff's Mill (on Antietam) to Captain Luckett's Ferry [the Mouth of Monocacy]."²⁶ This new road would have branched south from the Conococheague Road, where Geeting Road now leaves Dog Street Road, and continued to Orndorff's Mill on the Antietam Creek. The road then continued through Sharpsburg to the Swearingen Ferry and to Shepherdstown. Shortly after the establishment of the new road to Sharpsburg and Orndorff's Mill, Jacob Hess, Orndorff's son-in-law, constructed a mill of his own on the Little Antietam Creek near the intersection of the old and new roads at present Keedysville.

It appears the developments of the 1760s in the lower Antietam drainage remained the basis for growth in the area for the rest of the 18th century. The 1794 Dennis Griffith Map of the

²³Thomas J. C. Williams, History of Washington County, Maryland. (Hagerstown, 1906)
Baltimore: Clearfield Co. and Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 56.

²⁴Julia A. Drake and James R. Orndorff, From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1938, p. 22.

²⁵Barron, pp. 28-36.

²⁶Millard Milburn Rice, New Facts and Old Families From the Records of Frederick County, Maryland. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1984, p. 55 (Frederick County Judgement Record Liber P, Folio 7). Note: Rice erroneously calls the Orndorff Mill the old Israel Friend Mill which would have been at Williamsport, at the end of the old Conococheague Road.

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State of Maryland, clearly shows the roads and mills as described above. The upper Antietam, in the area of Elizabeth Town (Hagerstown) shows a great deal more mill development. This is probably a result of the many more roads in the area and the establishment of Elizabeth Town as the County Seat in 1776 when Washington County was created out of Frederick County. By the 1783 U. S. Tax Assessment twenty flour mills are listed along the Antietam drainage, and by 1790 that number had grown to twenty-three. Susan Winter Frye [Trail], who has researched the mills of the Antietam drainage notes: "Eastern Washington County, with its large mills along Antietam Creek, probably represented the most advanced stage of market integration in the county."²⁷ Frye cites the many roads leading from Hagerstown across the mountains to Frederick and Baltimore, saying "...certainly the Baltimore market during the late 18th century spurred the growth of the flour milling industry along the Antietam Creek and its tributaries."²⁸

The prosperity that grew in Washington County during the latter 18th and early 19th centuries was the result of agricultural intensification as frontier conditions lessened and farming and support networks matured. Most prominent in the developing economy during the time period was the dominance of wheat and small grains and the shift away from less profitable tobacco. While southern Maryland remained committed to tobacco cultivation, the central and western counties increasingly turned to wheat production. Wheat was a more saleable product than tobacco and was not restricted by production legislation as tobacco had been. It was, however, on the list of commodities that by law had to be shipped to England in pre-Revolutionary days. Therefore, in the 1760s and 1770s, wheat profits were limited by market conditions in England. The increase of wheat production, though, promoted growth of Baltimore, Frederick and Hagerstown, as well as towns in south central Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. These places show evidence of significant growth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. By 1790, Frederick was the most populous county in Maryland, and York County, Pennsylvania, which included present day Adams County, directly north of Frederick was the most populous county in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia. Baltimore became important to the processing and shipping of grain and began to siphon trade from the grain producing areas of Pennsylvania, setting up a trade rivalry with Philadelphia.

Eventually the region became known for grain production. Grain was sold in bulk, or processed into flour and meal, or distilled into whiskey. These commodities were shipped to markets in Baltimore or Philadelphia. Shipping from central and western Maryland and the grain growing regions of Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley was a problem, and hindered the growth and prosperity associated with grain production. There was no inland water route to the farming areas, although navigation of the Potomac and Susquehanna were promoted or opposed by various factions. Rail service did not develop until the 1830s, so highway transportation had to serve the freight hauling needs of the region. Maryland, therefore promoted turnpike

²⁷Frye, p. 44.

²⁸Frye, p. 46.

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development, although most of these toll routes were privately funded. The output and growth in population in the western areas of Maryland encouraged construction and improvement of roads which were generally described as "miserable and worst in the union" in the late 18th century.²⁹ Baltimore officials in 1787 laid out 20-foot wide roads to Frederick, Reisterstown and York, Pennsylvania. However, it was private turnpike companies and in some cases mill owners who actually constructed the roads.³⁰

The impact of the proliferation of flourmills and distilleries cannot be overstated in analyzing the development of agriculture in the Antietam drainage through the late 18th century. To support such a large number of mills in such a small area there had to be numerous farms focusing on grain production. In the Sharpsburg District much of the land owned by Joseph Chapline had been distributed to his sons following his death in 1769. However, it wasn't until the 1790s that this land began to be sold off in earnest and individual farms with "Swisser" barns began to take shape. Many of the names of the buyers, mostly of German origin, would become familiar following the 1862 Battle of Antietam.

According to the nation's first census, taken in 1790, Washington County's white population in that year was 14,472. Of those, 4,356 were of German descent, or 31%. This percentage of Germans was the highest in the state. Frederick County had a population of 26,937 whites, with 5,137 Germans which computes to 20% of the white population. For comparison, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, immediately north of Washington County, had a total population of 15,057 whites, of whom 1,296 or 9% were of German descent. In 1790, Washington County was the third most populous county in the state, following Frederick County, which had the largest population, and Baltimore County. For Washington, Frederick, and Franklin (PA) Counties, the largest portion of the population was tabulated as English/Welsh.³¹

James Chapline, son of Joseph Chapline, began selling portions of his tract called "Addition to Loss and Gain," north of Sharpsburg along the Hagerstown Road, in 1796, and again in 1797, when he recorded several deeds to Jonas Hogmire equaling 121 3/8 acres. A German named John Myers (Meyers) apparently occupied the land Hogmire purchased, who may have been there since as early as 1786. Myers later bought the farm from Hogmire. The property would be known as the D.R. Miller farm in 1862.³² In 1788, John Middlekauff purchased "Kelly's Purchase" just north of the Hogmire tract, on the road to Hagerstown. In the 1790s John Miller, a German immigrant came to the area via Waynesboro and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He began buying land along the Hagerstown Road as well, including several tracts that would later be known as the Samuel Poffenberger farm, the Henry Piper farm [and the land later known as

²⁹ Brugger, p. 153.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970, p. 272.

³² Reed, pp. 20-21.

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the William Roulette farm].³³ The tract of land on the west side of the Hagerstown Road known as "Resurvey of Addition to Piles Delight" owned by Col. Edward Sprigg was also up for sale. A 1792 advertisement in the Hagerstown newspaper, The Washington Spy indicates the land was under cultivation by renters or leasees. The ad stipulated, "Possession of the lands will be given immediately, but liberty reserved to the persons occupying any part thereof to gather and remove crops now growing thereon and to hold possession of their respective fields until that is done."³⁴ Some 2,000 acres of the property was sold to David McMechen, a man from Baltimore, and undoubtedly the rental arrangements continued. An 1803 tax assessment lists fourteen persons showing ownership of "part of R. of Addition to Piles Delight" indicating the tract was subdivided and sold again following the 1792 sale.³⁵ Christian Orndorff divided his holdings among his sons Christopher, Christian and Henry prior to his death in 1797. In 1796 Christopher Orndorff sold the mill and farm to Jacob Mumma. Headstones in the Mumma Cemetery, located on the Mumma farm, dated as early 1790 suggest the Mumma family had been farming the land prior to the 1796 purchase.³⁶ Also in 1796, Joseph Sherrick purchased 200 acres, located south of Sharpsburg, from Henry Orndorff.³⁷

While specific information concerning the production associated with these early farms was not found, the fact that many of the land sales of the 1780s and 90s were from owner to tenant indicates that crops were successful and profitable. Also the rapid increase of large mills, including merchant mills, as well as small custom mills, along the Antietam Creek indicates large and successful grain crops. Slave ownership is also a good indicator of agricultural practice. Washington County was not a big slave holding county in the late 18th century, however, there were several large slaveholders, and quite a few small owners of one to four slaves. Of the 2,445 families living in Washington County in 1790, 269 were slaveholders, about 12%; of the slave holding families, only six owned twenty or more slaves, and 188 owned from one to four slaves.³⁸ Specifically the statistics break down to 90 families with one slave, 98 families with two to four

³³Francis F. Wilshin, Historic Structures Report: Mumma "Spring House," Piper "Slave Quarters," Sherrick "Smoke House," History Data, Antietam National Battlefield Site Maryland. National Park Service, 1969, p. 131.

³⁴The Washington Spy, July 11, 1792, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

³⁵1803 U. S. Tax Assessment, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 250.

³⁸Washington Co. Census vertical file, internet source: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. Washington Co. Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

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slaves, 55 families with five to nine slaves, 20 families with 10-19 slaves, four families with 20-49 slaves and two families with 50 to 99 slaves.³⁹ According to the 1790 census, there were 1,286 slaves in Washington County and 64 free blacks.

The 1790 U.S. Population Census for the Sharpsburg area, indicated the following families owning slaves: Chapline, Orndorff, Middlekauff, Eversole, and Hogmire. Many of the slave owners listed throughout Washington County were mill owners, including Orndorff, Funk, Clagett, Hager, Hughs, and Stull. The predominance of smaller numbers of slaves per household indicates a less labor intensive form of farm production compared to the tobacco culture found in the county of St. Mary's where, of 1,527 families in the county, 892 were slave owners, with two families owning 100-200 or more slaves, and 73 families owning more than twenty slaves⁴⁰

The close of the 18th century would also bring the promise of expanded markets for the farmers of the Antietam drainage. Proximity to the Potomac River had been some small advantage for transportation in earlier years, but in 1784 a charter for the Potomac Navigation Company (Potomac Canal Company) was granted by Virginia and Maryland for the improvement of navigation on the Potomac River from the North Branch, near the Cheat River, to Georgetown. By 1790 the locks skirting Great Falls above Georgetown were completed. According to T.J.C. Williams, "The trade down the river to Georgetown was considerable from the first. The rapid current of the stream carried the loaded boats down with but little labor...They were large enough to convey about a hundred and sixty barrels of flour. Hay, flour and whiskey were the principal products shipped from the County."⁴¹ Susan Winter Frye points out, however, that the Potomac River transportation was extremely seasonal due to the drastic water level changes typical of the river in winter and summer, making road transportation a continued necessity.⁴² The roads to Baltimore and Philadelphia and the river to Georgetown would spur competition between these port cities that would accelerate in the next century, improving transportation to markets, and profits, for the frontier farmers of Washington County.

Perhaps the attraction of Philadelphia as a rival market along with opening the Ohio Valley markets for Maryland caused businessmen to become interested in experimenting with rail transportation to develop a route from Baltimore to the Ohio River. A corporation was formed as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in 1827. While the cornerstone for the new railroad was being laid on July 4, 1828, with the help of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, last living signer of

³⁹ A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. 1970. P. 203, 296.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Williams, p. 62 and 64.

⁴² Frye, p. 47.

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the Declaration of Independence, by then in his 90s, the first shovel of dirt was lifted by President of the United States, John Quincy Adams for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The canal was to follow the north side of the Potomac River from Georgetown to Cumberland, then overland to the Ohio River. Both of these projects affected Washington County. The railroad fared much better than the canal, and by 1832 had reached the Potomac River at Point of Rocks in Frederick County. It then crossed into Virginia, bypassing Washington County.

The dawn of the 19th century brought enormous growth to Central Maryland, part of the "bread basket" of the country, and its primary market, Baltimore City. According to Frye, "By 1810 Maryland had become the third largest flour-producing state in the nation behind Pennsylvania and Virginia. Washington County was the state's foremost county in terms of the value of its flour mills and the number of barrels of flour produced by these mills."⁴³ An 1831 editorial in the Hagerstown newspaper the Torchlight and Public Advertiser numbers the flour mills of Washington County as "upwards of sixty-four," saying "...it is believed that we send annually to market 130,000 bbls. Being about one fifth of all the flour inspected in Baltimore."⁴⁴ This tremendous growth in production was supported by equal population growth. Between the years 1790 and 1820 Washington County grew by 8,603 people, by 1860, the population had grown by another 8,342 people while growth in many eastern counties had slowed or even decreased. The growth of farms and grain production in the western counties was made necessary by the phenomenal growth of cities such as Baltimore, which increased its population by over 200,000 people between 1790 and 1860.

The settlement of the lower Antietam drainage, in the Sharpsburg District in the 19th century exhibited a mixture of wealthy farmers, yeoman farmers, craftsmen, and laborers, centered on the town of Sharpsburg, the surrounding mills and the Antietam Iron Works. From 1800 to 1860, the white population on the farms surrounding Sharpsburg town more than doubled from 558 to 1,989. Significantly, the "free colored" population also grew during this period, from 2 to 235 living in the Sharpsburg District (exclusive of the town of Sharpsburg).⁴⁵ During this time also, the prosperous farms destined to become famous as the Antietam Battlefield began to take shape as the large land holders of the time passed away and the heirs divided their estates, particularly the lands of Joseph Chapline, John Blackford, and John Miller. A new generation of prominent landowners, whose wealth was derived more from farm production and commerce than from huge grants of land, would emerge. Chief among these in the Sharpsburg area were Philip Grove, Jacob Miller, and Jacob Mumma.

⁴³Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁴Torchlight and Public Advertiser, March 10, 1831, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁵U.S. Population Census, 1800 and 1860, microfilm, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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Through the first half of the 19th century transportation to markets and the price of farm products became the focus of attention for most farmers in Washington County. Newspaper columns carried current prices for products on a weekly basis, and editorials discussed overseas markets and local transportation costs. Personal letters and journals even found space for discussions of current prices. Prices appear to have fluctuated wildly, no doubt prompting much discussion. An "Abstract of the Baltimore Price Current" found in the March 5, 1811 issue of the Hagerstown Gazette, shows the price of wheat flour at 9.25 per barrel, rye flour at 6.25 per barrel, Maryland wheat at 1.95 per bushel, and whiskey at .48 per gallon. Other products listed included bacon, butter, Indian corn grain, bees wax, and wool. Tobacco is also listed, however, Potomac tobacco bringing in one of the lowest prices at 2.50 cwt. as compared to 6.50 for Virginia fat.⁴⁶

The writings of an Englishman by the name of John Palmer, who was traveling through the "Western country" in 1817, reported the price of wheat in Hagerstown at \$1.40 per bushel. Hard times continued as crops were destroyed by hail in 1818 and 1821, and in 1822 by drought.⁴⁷ By 1831, the March 10 issue of the Hagerstown newspaper the Torchlight and Public Advertiser lists "Hagers-town Prices Current corrected Weekly" with flour at 5.25 per barrel and wheat at 1.00 per bushel. Prices are also listed for rye, corn, oats, potatoes, apples, meat, butter, and bran. The same issue carries an editorial discussing the effect of the overseas market on the price of flour in Baltimore. "The operations in Flour were freely made throughout the past week. In the beginning of the week sales were made at \$5.87 [sic] a \$5.94 per barrel. In the early part of Wednesday, and before the advance of bread stuffs in England were generally known, several purchases were made from stores at \$6 per barrel. In the after part of the day, after the news bad [sic] became known the price advanced to \$6.25, at which rate some sales were effected." Whiskey sales in Baltimore were also noted at 31 cents per gallon (by the barrel).⁴⁸

Local farmer John Blackford notes in his Journal for June 1838 the price of wheat sold to Mumma's Mill at \$1.50 per bushel, and in December 1838 he lists the price of flour at \$7.75 to \$8 [probably per barrel, locally].⁴⁹ A column entitled "The Markets" in the April 18, 1844 issue of the Torchlight and Public Advertiser quotes prices from the markets of Hagerstown, Williamsport, Alexandria, Georgetown, and Baltimore. The Hagerstown price for flour in 1844 was \$4.50 per barrel, and wheat at 85 cents per bushel, nearly half the prices given locally in 1838. The Baltimore market price for flour "Standard brands" was \$4.75 per barrel; the notation

⁴⁶Hagerstown newspapers, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁷Williams, p. 163-164.

⁴⁸Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁹Fletcher Green and Thomas & Nathalie Hahn, Ferry Hill Plantation Journal. Shepherdstown, WV: Thomas W. Hahn, 1975, p. 54 and 119.

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for grain states: "Wheat continues very scarce.- We continue to quote Md. And Virginia at 100 a 105 cents for good to strictly prime reds." Whiskey is quoted at 23 ½ to 24 cents per gallon (in barrels). Market prices for rye, corn, oats, beef, butter and potatoes are also included.⁵⁰

A March 1856 letter from local farmer Jacob Miller to his daughter in Iowa notes that "wheat is worth \$1.25 [presumably per bushel] but if you go to a Mill and want to buy flour they will ask \$9. Per barrel oats is worth about 40 cts potatoes 50...."⁵¹ Certainly Mr. Miller was disgruntled over the price he was paid for his wheat and other produce, versus the retail price of the processed flour. Whether the 1844 prices reflect cheaper transportation costs or represent a national economic slump is unknown. However, by 1856, the prices appear to be on the rebound.

Another important farm product in the Antietam drainage, not addressed in the newspapers was wood. As the standing timber, so omnipresent on the land in the 18th century, began to slowly disappear, the importance of wood as a product for sale grew. An 1811 sale notice for the 600 remaining acres of "Resurvey on Addition to Piles Delight" which David McMechen purchased from Col. Edward Sprigg's widow states: "This Land is of the first quality; 200 acres cleared, and the residue covered with the best of timber."⁵² The value of such a stand of timber is repeatedly discussed in John Blackford's journal for the year January 1838- January 1839. Blackford in fact mentions the price of wood many times more than the price of wheat or flour, despite the fact that he ran a plantation of over 1,000 acres. Green and Hahn, editors of Blackford's journal note that although wheat and other grains were Blackford's number one cash crop, timber came in second. In addition to supplying his own Ferry Hill Plantation with various needs for wood, the editors note: "He [Blackford] sold large quantities of wood for fuel to the inhabitants of Shepherdstown, Sharpsburg, and Boonsboro. The wood sold for \$2.50 per cord, and Blackford sold as many as one hundred cords per year to a single customer in Shepherdstown....In addition to wood for fuel Blackford sold posts, plank, scantling, and shingles in considerable quantities. In some instances he sold logs to the mills....And he sold timber to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company for fuel and repairs."⁵³ By 1860, the wood lot on any farm had become a valuable commodity. The average household might consume about 10 cords of wood per year for heat and cooking.

Clearly local farmers were interested in the prices their crops would bring. Prices were subject to change depending on availability in the markets and weather changes. An important

⁵⁰Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵¹Jacob Miller letters, Antietam Battlefield, NPS, personal copy, Edith B. Wallace.

⁵²Hagerstown Gazette, March 5, 1811, Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵³Green and Hahn, p. xii.

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aspect of pricing was the cost of transportation of the farm product to the markets. After the turn of the century several major improvements in transportation in Washington County had profound effects on the local farming population. The "turnpike fever" which began in 1796 with proposals for the National Road from Baltimore to Wheeling, hit its pitch between 1810 and 1830, a period when numerous macadamized toll roads were chartered and constructed in Washington County. The National Road, begun in 1811, was the first federally sponsored highway. The National Road reached Wheeling, West Virginia in 1818 and ended in Vandalia, Illinois in 1841.⁵⁴ The National Road passed through Boonsboro to Hagerstown and beyond. A turnpike leading from Boonsboro through Sharpsburg to the Potomac River ferry was chartered in 1815 and completed by 1833.⁵⁵ Such road improvements would greatly increase the ability of farmers to transport their products in winter, but the limitations of transportation by wagon was frustrating to farmers such large distances from the major markets.

With the demise of the Potomac Canal Company in 1828 came the promise of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a canal planned to parallel the Potomac River from Ohio to Georgetown. The fledgling Baltimore and Ohio Railroad also held promise for cheap, rapid transportation of products from the Western Maryland farms. An 1831 editorial in the Hagerstown newspaper Torchlight and Public Advertiser states in monetary terms the advantages of such modes of transportation: "Our farmers are now paying from \$1 to \$1.50 per barrel, for carriage to Baltimore. The Canal or Rail Road, will, it is believed, produce a saving of 70 cents per barrel in the price of transportation to market, which will be about \$90,000 upon the whole crop, making that addition to the income of the county. But flour is but one item—the same result will take place in regard to our corn, beef, rye, pork, whiskey, lumber, lime, iron, fruit, vegetables, &c."⁵⁶ By 1834 the C&O Canal had reached the Sharpsburg District and continued nearly to Williamsport. The railroad, however, crossed to the Virginia side of the Potomac River at Point of Rocks, before reaching Washington County, because of the narrow right-of-way passage at that point, which was already owned by the canal company. The railroad would likely have made a greater impact on Washington County farm production than the advent of canal transportation appears to have.

The reaction in Washington County to the B&O's choice of routes was angry. "In 1836 the Maryland Legislature [had come] to the aid of the [B&O] railroad company by making the state the guarantor of a new issue of its bonds, and a clause [had been] inserted in the bill providing that the company must locate its road through Hagerstown, or forfeit to Washington County one million dollars. After the Company decided to go into Virginia, Washington County

⁵⁴ This information was obtained from <http://www.history-magazine.com/natroad.html>. A content search of the History Magazine site indicated the article was published in November 1999.

⁵⁵ Williams, pp. 151-155.

⁵⁶ Torchlight and Public Advertiser, March 10, 1831, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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brought suit for the one million...[But] an extra session of the Legislature was called, and this clause of the act was repealed. The suit went on, it being contended on the part of the county that the legislature had no power to impair the obligation of a contract. The Court of Appeals finally decided that while the legislature could not rescind a contract, it could remit a penalty, and that this provision...was not a contract, but was in the nature of a penalty. Thus Hagerstown lost its railroad, and the people of Washington County lost the million dollars."⁵⁷ Hagerstown did eventually become a rail center with important routes up the Cumberland Valley to Philadelphia, and to Baltimore and the West by way of the Western Maryland Railroad. The B&O supported a spur line into Hagerstown in 1867, but it never had a major impact on the city. The spur line passed along the Antietam Creek and through Keedysville to the Potomac River at Weverton.

The mills of the Antietam drainage show some increase in grain consumption between 1820 and 1850, probably a result of the improvements in transportation, which occurred during those thirty years. Data gathered from U.S. Manufacturing Censuses for Washington County shows that consumption grew for a few mills, remained the same for others, and for some it actually decreased.⁵⁸ One of the largest mills on the Antietam, the D & H Clagett Mill, increased its grain consumption from 30,000 bushels in 1820, to 75,000 in 1850. In the Sharpsburg/Keedysville area, District No. 1, the John Mumma (formerly Orndorff) Mill used 20,000 bushels of grain in 1820. By 1850 it was known as the Watson and Newcomer Mill and consumed 31,000 bushels. The McPherson & Brien Antietam Iron Works also operated a "Merchant Mill" in 1820, with "4 pair stones and suitable machinery," the notation "all in operation" indicating a rather large mill producing flour on a regular basis. In 1850, the Antietam Iron Works does not list a mill among its assets. These mills represent the larger merchant mills, which bought grain for flour, which they produced and sold at larger markets, or combination merchant/custom mills of the area. The smaller, local, custom mills, which ground flour for the farmers to consume or sell at local markets, maintained grain consumption at a steady or slightly increased rate; the nearby Eakle's Mill (formerly Furry's Mill), near Keedysville, consumed 2,000 bushels in both 1820 and 1850.⁵⁹ No farm production data was found from 1820 to compare with that compiled in 1850. However, it is probable that production did increase to some degree with the greater demand for grain in the merchant mills, the improved means of transportation, and the growing availability of the threshing machine in the 1830s. Direct comparative data is available for farm production in 1850 and 1860, and increases in grain

⁵⁷ Paul J. Westhaffer, History of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, 1835-1919, Ephrata PA: Science press, 1979, p. 41, quoting James Peebles Matthews in William H. Egle, ed. Notes and Queries Relating to Pennsylvania. Harrisburg: Daily Telegraph, Annual Volume for 1899, p. 6-9.

⁵⁸ Frye, Grain Consumption Data chart, p. 90.

⁵⁹ 1820 U. S. Accounts of Manufactures, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD; 1850 U. S. Census of Manufactures, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

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production can be seen, especially in corn and rye, but also in wheat.⁶⁰ In 1859 Jacob Miller notes in a letter "the farmers are using the reaper more and more every year and I think before many years the wheat rye oats & barley [sic] will all be cut with the reapers."⁶¹ It is likely that technological innovations such as the reaper and threshing machine, as well as innovations in milling technology led to increased production of grains on the farms, and consumption of grains in the mills.

Whatever the reasons the decade leading up to the Civil War appears to be one of relative prosperity for the farms of the Sharpsburg District. The value of the farms in the area rose slightly during this period, especially the prime farmland that would soon be the bloody Antietam Battlefield, including the farms of Henry Piper, Joseph Sherrick, Samuel Mumma, Jacob Grove, David R. Miller, and William Roulette. During this period also, the number of slave owners in the Sharpsburg area rose, while the number of slaves fell. In 1850, 17 local farmers and millers owned 89 slaves, while in 1860, 24 men of various occupations owned 86 slaves, mostly one or two slaves per owner.⁶² That the wealth of these men was tied directly to the production of the land is made clear in an 1859 letter from Jacob Miller in which he describes his attempts to raise money he owed to his late wife's estate:

"...I confessed a Judgment to him [the Administrator, Jacob Houser] with a stay of execution for one year fully satisfied in my mind that I would be ready to meete [sic] the call. But things in general took a change, the next crop of wheat failed which wound up money matters verry [sic] close which threw everybody out of market in buying land so I failed in selling and raising the money but that is not the case this year. We have had an abundant crop of wheat which is already making money more plentiful and will still be more so after a while and I think will bring people into mark [sic] between this and next Spring to buy land."⁶³

In 1859 land was money, but only if that land was producing something to sell. Fortunately for the farmers of the Sharpsburg District, the land was generous.

The appearance of the landscape in the Sharpsburg District in 1862 had a profound effect on the development of the Battle of Antietam. In terms of terrain, Lee's Confederate army held the advantage, setting up their defensive line of battle on the high ground between the Antietam

⁶⁰U. S. Agricultural Census, 1850 and 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁶¹Jacob Miller letters, July 1, 1859.

⁶²U. S. Slave Census, 1850 and 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁶³Jacob Miller letters, August 10, 1859.

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Creek and the Potomac River. With Stuart's cavalry on the left near the Potomac, and his artillery nearby on the rise known as Nicodemus Heights, the line extended south along the Hagerstown Pike, under the cover of the West Woods and the Sunken Road, through the town of Sharpsburg, and commanding the cliffs above the Lower Bridge of the Antietam on their extreme right. With their backs to the Potomac River, a quick retreat for the Army of Northern Virginia would be impossible. However timely access to the final stage of the battle by A.P. Hill's troops coming from Harpers Ferry resulted in an ultimately controlled retreat across the Packhorse Ford, with the aid of the hilly landscape.

The Antietam Creek, so important in the development of the grain-based agricultural economy of Washington County, served as a natural barrier for the defensive line of General Lee. The report of General McClellan best describes Lee's use of the natural landscape:

"On the 16th the enemy had slightly changed their line, and were posted upon the heights in rear of Antietam Creek, their left and center being upon and in front of the road from Sharpsburg to Hagerstown, and protected by woods and irregularities of the ground. . . . The ground between their immediate front and the Antietam is undulating. Hills intervene, whose crests are commanded by the crests of others in their rear. On all favorable points their artillery was posted. . .

,"64

McClellan took advantage of the high ground on the east bank of the Antietam Creek for his headquarters to observe the progression of the battle. Here he also placed much of his artillery, which rivaled Stuart's artillery in their destruction because of their advantage of elevation. Unfortunately many of the Union shells hit the town of Sharpsburg.

The arrangement of the fields and woodlots on the Union right played an important role in the development of the morning phase of the battle. "Hooker stood at the northern apex of a triangle- the North Wood, a large patch of trees that served as his launching point. To his left, at the eastern base, was the East Wood, and to the right was the West Wood and the little white Church of the Brethren [Dunkard Church]. In between lay the D.R. Miller farm and its cornfield of some 30 acres."⁶⁵ The previously unnamed woodlots would forever be remembered by their battlefield designations. Miller's bloody field, whether planted with corn or another grain, would forever be known as The Cornfield.

⁶⁴O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, pp. 29-30, Report of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, quoted in Jay Luvaas and Harold Nelson, U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Antietam The Maryland Campaign of 1862. (Washington: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1988), p. 120.

⁶⁵James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p. 212.

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Later in the day, Roulette and Piper's fields and orchards, divided by the Sunken Road, would be contested by the opposing armies, with the Union troops forced to use an open field approach to the Confederates entrenched in the trough-like road. Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball, USA:

"Directly on my front, in a narrow road running parallel with my line, and, being washed by water, forming a natural rifle-pit between my line and a large corn-field, I found the enemy in great force, as also in the corn-field in rear of the ditch. As my line advanced to the crest of the hill, a murderous fire was opened upon it from the entire force in front."⁶⁶

The battle for the Sunken Road and Piper's fields lasted for more than three hours and was reportedly the bloodiest phase of the daylong battle. The wagon road, filled with the bodies of the dead soldiers, would acquire a new ignominious name, the Bloody Lane.⁶⁷

The afternoon phase of the battle focused on the Lower Bridge, later known as Burnside's Bridge, across the Antietam Creek, the extreme right of Lee's defensive line. Toombs' three Georgia regiments were entrenched on the heights immediately above the bridge on the west bank. General Burnside's Ninth Corps faced the open plain on the east bank of the creek, with the bridge crossing their objective. Here the terrain was certainly against the Union forces, however, Burnside's insistence on crossing the creek by the bridge and at Snively's Ford, gave Toombs' small defensive force the further advantage of time. Burnside, as Henry Kyd Douglas notes, missed the fact that "they might have waded it [Antietam Creek] that day without getting their waist belts wet in any place."⁶⁸

As Burnside's corps finally crossed the creek, Toombs' regiments withdrew to join the rest of D.R. Jones' division on the high ground southeast of Sharpsburg (running south from the area of the National Cemetery today). The undulating terrain over which the Federal troops had to cross to reach the Sharpsburg defenses forced them to move slowly and exposed them to danger from the superior position of the Confederates. Just as the superior numbers of the Union force began to overcome the Jones defense, A.P. Hill's division arrived from Harpers Ferry. Crossing the Potomac River at Packhorse Ford behind Lee's defensive line, they marched up Miller's Sawmill Road to meet the advancing Union troops on the high ground south of Sharpsburg. "My troops were not in a moment too soon. The enemy had already advanced in three lines, had broken through Jones' division, captured McIntosh's battery, and were in the full

⁶⁶O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 193, quoted in Luvaas and Nelson, p. 201.

⁶⁷Murfin, p.262.

⁶⁸Henry Kyd Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p.172.

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tide of success. With a yell of defiance, Archer charged them, retook McIntosh's guns, and drove them back pell-mell. . . . The three brigades of my division actively engaged did not number over 2,000 men, and these, with the help of my splendid batteries, drove back Burnside's corps of 15,000 men."⁶⁹ In each phase of the afternoon confrontation, the outnumbered Confederates used the landscape features to their advantage against the overwhelming force of the Ninth Corps.

Throughout the daylong battle, General Lee had used the Sharpsburg landscape to compensate for his smaller numbers. His strong position above the Potomac River had also protected his only path of retreat, across the Packhorse Ford, which he took advantage of the following night, September 18th, 1862.

In the years following the Civil War, the land on which Sharpsburg District farmers lived and worked soared in value while production increased. In 1870, Washington County produced an average of 25-3/4 bushels of wheat per acre, the highest in Maryland.⁷⁰ However, during the war, the railroads had spread to prime farming regions to the west, attracting many of the descendants of the industrious German farmers who had developed the farms of Western Maryland. Soon these same railroads would be bringing grain from the west to the eastern markets and lowering grain prices. The farmers of Washington County also still faced debts incurred from losses during the war which were slow to be repaid; land values were lower by 1880 probably the result of numerous mortgage defaults. Technological advances of the 1870s and 80s, particularly the steam powered thresher, and the binding reaper reduced the cost of labor, while fertilizers improved yields, both helping to improve the economic state of Washington County farmers.⁷¹

Several examples of these changes can be found in the statistics from the Sharpsburg District (District No. 1) of the U. S. Agricultural Censuses of 1870 and 1880. In 1870, Samuel Poffenberger's farm of 178 acres was valued at \$12,000, produced 1030 bushels of wheat, 57 bushels of rye, and 800 bushels of corn, with an annual labor cost of \$500. In 1880, Samuel's farm of 165 acres was valued at \$10,000, produced 1,120 bushels of wheat, 75 bushels of rye, and 1,000 bushels of corn, with an annual labor cost of \$60, and an additional cost of \$125 for fertilizer. Samuel's neighbor, David R. Miller's farm of 265 acres was valued at \$22,000 in 1870. He produced 1,000 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels of rye, and 200 bushels of corn, with a labor cost of \$450. In 1880 the farm of 265 acres was valued at \$15,900, produced 900 bushels of wheat, 75 bushels of rye, 1200 bushels of corn, and 90 bushels of oats, with an annual labor cost of \$425, and annual fertilizer cost of \$200. It is probably significant to note that David

⁶⁹O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 918, Report of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill, quoted from Luvaas and Nelson, pp. 235-236.

⁷⁰Reed, History Report: D.R. Miller Farm, p. 2.

⁷¹Williams, pp. 374-375.

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Miller also produced 500 bushels of apples in 1880, far more than other local farmers, which may account for the higher labor cost. The increase in corn production, shown by both Samuel Poffenberger and David Miller, appears to have occurred also with neighboring farmers in 1880.

Also listed on the 1880 census is Poultry, with farms generally showing 30-50 chickens. Whether this is a new product for Washington County farmers or if these numbers represent household consumption is unknown, however, William Blackford, whose farm was located near the old Packhorse Ford, listed 150 chickens in 1880, far above the average, indicating some kind of market use. There is no indication among the Sharpsburg District farmers of an increase in milk cow, cattle, sheep, or swine stocks from, 1850 to 1880 these numbers remain generally level.⁷²

The last decades of the 19th century brought the slow demise of waterpower and the rise of steam, powered by coal. With the rise of grain production in the mid-western states, the direct transportation by rail to major markets, and the introduction of steam powered mills which could be located nearer to the markets, the importance of the farms of the Antietam began to wane. The large merchant mills of the Antietam drainage had already begun to reduce consumption of grains by the 1880 Census of Manufactures. The smaller custom mills, however, appear to have taken up some of the grains, probably for local markets. In the Sharpsburg District, the merchant mill at the Antietam Iron Works consumed only 3,910 bushels of grain in 1880, and the Newcomer Mill (formerly the Orndorff or Mumma Mill) reduced consumption from 31,000 bushels in 1850 to 12,500 bushels in 1880. However the Pry Mill increased production from 13,000 bushels in 1850 to 30,000 bushels in 1880, and Eakles Mill increased from 2,000 bushels to 15,350 bushels in 1880.⁷³

As the mills of the Antietam disappeared around the turn of the century, farmers of the region shifted their production emphasis to dairy products. The proliferation of 20th century animal barns and milk houses on 19th century farmsteads attests to this shift in farm production.

⁷²U. S. Agricultural Census, 1870 and 1880, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁷³Frye, p. 90.

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II. The Battle of Antietam, It's Impact on the Local Population, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Outcome of the Civil War.

Much has been written about the Battle of Antietam of 1862, the bloodiest single day of the American Civil War. Troop movements and the decisions of generals have been analyzed and discussed in numerous books and treatises in the 137 years since the battle ended. The impact of the battle on the local citizens of the Sharpsburg area, however, has only begun to be touched. The homes of many of the people living along the lower Antietam Creek in 1862 were damaged and their lives forever changed, not only by the ferocious battle, but also by events, which occurred afterward.

The Battle of Antietam also affected the outcome of the Civil War in several ways, most obviously with Abraham Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation following the Union 'victory' at Antietam. So too, the battle's outcome impacted Lincoln's relationship with General George McClellan, which ended with McClellan's removal as the head of the Army of the Potomac. Both the Emancipation Proclamation and McClellan's demise helped to change the face of the Civil War.

The farms of the Sharpsburg District, along the lower Antietam Creek drainage, in 1860 were well established and prosperous, much of the land having been cultivated for more than 100 years by that time. The farms of the area ranged from around 100 acres to 250 acres; on the 1860 Agricultural Census local farmers reported wheat harvests of 800 to 1500 bushels and corn harvests of 400 to 1000 bushels. While wheat production remained fairly steady, other grains, especially corn, were beginning to show increased production. Property values were rising as well, Sharpsburg had become a busy canal and mill town, servicing the commercial needs of farmers and boatmen alike. The Potomac River Bridge, constructed at the old Blackford's Ferry around 1850, connecting Sharpsburg to Shepherdstown, enhanced commercial ties already well established between the two towns. The population of the town of Sharpsburg in 1860 was approaching 1000 and the district surrounding the town numbered over 2,200, 235 of which were free blacks. Beginning in the second quarter of the 19th century, slavery was on the decline in Washington County and the Sharpsburg District, but in 1860, there were at least 86 slaves living on Sharpsburg District farms, a sign of prosperous times. There were fewer slaves overall, but more owners with one or two slaves each.⁷⁴

In 1861, the busy lives of the people of the Sharpsburg area began to change. The lines between Union and Secessionist states were drawn. Sharpsburg would become a border town in a border state. The district was divided between Republicans, "good Union men," and Democrats, who were sometimes suspected of being southern sympathizers. Young men from the area joined

⁷⁴U. S. Population Census, Agriculture and Manufacturing Census, and Slave Census, 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

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the armies of both sides, including Henry Kyd Douglas, who served on the staff of Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson.

Jacob Miller, whose letters to his daughter living in Iowa through the 1850s and 60s are a window on domestic life in Sharpsburg during that time, was a prominent land owner, businessman, public servant, and a Democrat. He was acquainted with, and often related to, many of the farmers and townspeople of Sharpsburg. Jacob's letters document the opinions and experiences of the local citizens in the year leading up to, and including, the Battle of Antietam, as well as several years following the battle. In an August 20, 1861 letter, Jacob describes the political divisions, and troubles, in the Sharpsburg area resulting from what he called "this black republican warefare [sic]."

"...I dreded some of our rowdies in town the[y] called us ceessionists and so reported us to the northeren troops and expected to see us all arrested when the northeren troops came on but they ware disapointed the offisers said they did not intend to molest any one on account of their politicle opinon after they ware hear a while they ware better pleased with the democrats than with the Union or dis Union party as we call them and prove them to be such by being in favour of the war which is disunion it Self there can be no union between two parties when war exists between them."⁷⁵

[Note: all spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller's]

Jacob goes on to describe the rowdies of the 'disunion party' as "supported by some of the leading men of their party such as Dr Biggs, Isiah Huet Bill & Frank Cronise Judge Smith or Shoemaker." Clearly, the town was divided, but more telling in this description was Jacob's opinion about the war. He was clearly not in favor of what he saw as the Republican war, however, he also certainly was not a secessionist. This distinction becomes important in 1862, when part of General Robert E. Lee's reasoning for the invasion of Maryland was to free the border states from the Union, assuming that a majority of southern sympathizers might be willing to secede, and change the balance of power in the war.

In September of 1862, word had reached the people of the Sharpsburg District of the Confederate army's arrival in Frederick and march west to South Mountain. They heard the cannons pounding the mountain on the other side of Boonsboro, and prepared for the coming battle. While the season's wheat crop had been harvested, the corn was still ripening in the fields of Joseph Poffenberger, Samuel Poffenberger, Michael Miller, Alfred Poffenberger (on the Mary Grove Locher farm), Jacob Nicodemus, David R. Miller, R. F. Kennedy, Henry Neikirk, William Roulette, Samuel Mumma, Henry Piper, Joseph Sherrick, John Otto, Henry Rohrback, their tenants, and their neighbors. Nothing could be done to protect the crops in the fields and barns but, according to Oliver T. Reilly, an early battlefield guide, horses were hidden by the farmers to

⁷⁵Jacob Miller letters, August 20, 1861.

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prevent their being stolen. "Mr. Samuel Poffenberger...had his eight horses hidden in his large cellar to keep them from being stolen during the battle. Wm. Unger on the Kennedy farm near the Antietam had his in his cellar and those who didn't do this lost theirs."⁷⁶ Reilly reported that "Several hundred persons took shelter for several days at and in Killinsburg Cave, about two miles west of this town [Sharpsburg], on the day of the battle." Many also stayed according to Reilly. "Mr. William Roulette, owner of the Roulette farm at Bloody Lane, during the battle September 17th was hiding in his cellar and Capt. Samuel Wright of a Company of the 29th Mass. saw Mr. Roulette come out of the cellar and for a short while stand and look at them."⁷⁷ A letter from Elizabeth (Miller) Blackford, Jacob Miller's daughter, to her sister Amelia in Iowa, dated February 8, 1863, describes in detail the experience of a citizen who stayed in her home until the fighting began and then left.

"...I had determined to remain at home and go in the Seller, there was two of the Dr's Darby & Tailor, from Louisiana bourded with us during their stay, they came in when about to move their wounded and prevailed on us to leave I was standing at the window when a shell exploded in Mr Russel's house between the roof and ceiling sent the shingles flying every direction cut several rafters in two and splintered others some pieces made holes in the chimeny and out at the gable end, one piece went in the flore driveing the end of a feather bolster in so tight they could scarcely get it out, it was that, that unnerved me at the moment. I gave way and we left going out the back way to Gerry Groves Town woods, with the shells flying over our heads and around us, we were in more danger than if we had staid at home but I, did not know what to expect the Doctors seemed decided upon our leaving as we had no man about the house and leave every thing to the mercy of stranglers, no doubt the Drs thought we would be imposed upon by them if wee staid . . . we went to Stephen Groves in an Ambulance from the woods passing through several Regiments, poor men marching in to battle, I left the girls and nan there, took John Frank and walked down to Frances [between Millers Sawmill Road and the C & O Canal] we found Mr. Peter Beeler, and all his family there..."⁷⁸ [Note: the spelling and punctuation is that of Elizabeth Miller Blackford's]

Elizabeth Miller Blackford was a single mother, her husband, Franklin Blackford, son of Col. John Blackford, having died in a hunting accident in West Virginia. The girls she speaks of would be her daughters, Laura, Helen, Mary, and Jeannette, "nan" is probably a slave; John Frank

⁷⁶Oliver T. Reilly, The Battlefield of Antietam, Sharpsburg, MD: Oliver T. Reilly, 1906, p. 21 (pages are not actually numbered).

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁷⁸Jacob Miller letters, from Sister Elizabeth, February 8, 1863.

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was her youngest son. It seems incredible that she would have stayed in Sharpsburg with such a fierce battle approaching, let alone leave with her children with shells flying all around them. Similar stories were told by various Sharpsburg residents, an experience few modern Americans could relate to.

Quartermaster claims are an excellent source for identifying the enormous losses the people of the Sharpsburg area suffered. Shortly after the Battle of Antietam Major General Fitz John Porter, commanding the 5th Army Corps at Sharpsburg, issued Special Order No. 136 which stated, "A Board of survey . . . for the purpose of appraising and ascertaining, if possible, the amount of damages accruing to certain property in this vicinity by troops in the service of the United States." Captain Samuel Conner, 62nd Penna Vols., Capt. D. A. McManigal 131st Penna Vols., and Chaplain O. G. Clark 83rd Penna Vols. were called to serve.⁷⁹ There appears also to have been a similar order issued by the commander of the 1st Army Corps, Special Order No. 22, with J. McK. Snodgrass and J. A. McPherson serving, however, the reports appear to have been submitted at the same time and are not separated in any way.⁸⁰ The Board of Survey personally visited the farms and homes of the citizens of Sharpsburg, beginning October 1, 1862. In addition to recording the damages, including physical damage to buildings and furnishings, as well as claims for crops and animals taken to be used by Federal troops (quartermaster stores), the Board also made decisions regarding the monetary allowances on each claim. One of the more touching of these claims reports was for Jacob Myers, a tenant farmer living somewhere in the area of the Mumma and Roulette farms. Myers' claim was for "Hogs, Bacon, Poultry Toole [sic] & Household & Kitchen furniture Clothing &c \$82.47." The members of the Board of Survey wrote, "we was at the house of Mr. Myers and seen his bill and found he had lost all he had of property and on examining his bill found his prices Agree with our scale of prices, And we awarded to Jacob Myers \$82.47."⁸¹

Following the battle of September 17th, 1862, residents and soldiers faced a field covered with bodies, both dead and injured. As quickly as possible, injured soldiers were removed to the makeshift hospitals set up in nearly every available building and yard. According to Captain Louis Duncan of the Medical Department during the war, all farmhouses north and northeast of Sharpsburg were used as hospitals.⁸² Barns, granaries, sheds, and tents were also used to house

⁷⁹"Extract from Special Orders No. 136," Sept. 30th, 1862, found in Antietam Board of Survey Report National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁰Antietam Board of Survey Report #313, John Grice, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸¹Antietam Board of Survey Report #323, Jacob Myers, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸²From John Nelson lecture, Hospitals of Antietam, Washington County Free Library, 1999.

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the wounded. Several of the Antietam Board of Survey claims reports include references to hospitals:

Henry Rohrback, claim #235, "use of House and 2 barns & outbuildings 5 days"
Catherine Highberger, claim #254, house used as hospital
Stephen Grove, claim #314, "damages to House & Out Buildings"
John C. Middlekauff, claim #320, "Use of House yard barn furniture beds etc. for Hospital from Sept 16th to Oct 6th"
Daniel Poffenberger, claim # 333, "Damages to House & Barn (Hospital) \$100.00"
Joseph Stonebraker, claim #173, "Boarding and use of rooms for hospital for seventeen sick men 2 days" [this claim includes the original receipt for hospital room and board signed by Acting Hospital Steward Ezra Johnson]

A few of the later claims included hospital references as well:

Peter Beeler, claim G-1771, "use of House 6 weeks as a Hospital"
John Otto, claim G-1857, "Use of House Barn & Granary for Hospital from Sept 17th to Nov 4th 1862 \$500.00"
Philip Pry, claim G-2697, "...seeks compensation for 15,000 feet of prime pine plank . . . alleged to have been taken on or about 20th to 30th of September 1863[1862] by Medical Director Dr. Rauch for building Hospitals."

After the injured were removed from the Antietam Battlefield the dead had to be contended with next. The enormous number of bodies, estimated at around 5,000 must have been intimidating; however, quick burial was necessary to avoid the spread of such deadly diseases as typhoid fever and cholera.⁸³ For this reason the fallen soldiers were buried essentially where they lay, making the farm fields of Sharpsburg a temporary cemetery. William Roulette's claim, filed November 1, 1862, included "Buriel [sic] ground for seven hundred Soldiers \$130.00." Samuel Mumma claimed \$150.00 for "Land damaged by traveling & Buriel [sic]."⁸⁴ Such fields were impossible to cultivate until the bodies were removed to permanent cemeteries beginning in 1866. John Trowbridge, a visitor to Washington County in 1865, recalled a conversation with a Sharpsburg farmer he had seen plowing his field: "A power of them in this here field! ... I always skip a Union grave when I know it, but sometimes I don't see 'em, and I plow 'em up.' ... Torn rags strewed the ground. The old ploughman pick up a fragment. 'This here was a Union soldier."

⁸³Steven R. Stotelmyer, *The Bivouacs of the Dead*. Baltimore: Toomey Press, 1992, p. 3.

⁸⁴Antietam Board of Survey Report #230, Wm. Roulette, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Samuel Mumma Board of Survey Report, copy in Francis F. Wilshin, *Historic Structures Report*. National Park Service, 1969, p. 54.

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You may know by the blue cloth'. . . We found many more bones of Union soldiers rooted up and exposed."⁸⁵

Disease became a serious problem for the people living in the area of the Antietam Battlefield in the months following the battle. Jacob Miller's December 7, 1862 letter to his daughter, concerning the death of his brother, Daniel Miller, whose farm was located on the northern edge of the battlefield near Joseph Poffenberger's farm, makes this reality very personal:

"I will now say something about our local affairs. Your Unkle Daniel Miller is no more. He departed from us on Sunday 16th day of November last . . . He was not well when he left home, the day before the big battle, which came off the 17th of September. When he came back he went to Henry Newkirks and continued there the balance of his time. . . after he got back he was taken with a diarear which was a very common complaint with the troops and Citizens. Both armies were afflicted with the disease, however. Daniel took sick on Monday or Tuesday and continued getting worse with sick vomiting spells. I sent once to see him on Thursday and found him ill but he could still converse yet on almost any subject, but the next day I found him worse and so he continued failing to the end he was 84 years of age the 12th day of September last. . . Mrs. Adam Michael is no more she took her flite this day a weak her oldest daughter had just gon before her about eight or ten days, the other daughter and Kalille wore both down and verry ill at the sametime but are geting better, - Hellen and Janet have had a severe attack of tayfoy fevour but are both geting better Hellen is up and about in the house Jacob [Mumma] and Annmarys children nearly all or perhaps all had Scarlet fevour but are all geting well - Henry Mummas wife is no more, she departed this life about two weaks since she had the same fevour nearly all or quite all of John Smith famly wore down but are geting better. Many other citizens and hundreds of soldiers have been taken with the same, and many died, it is an army disease thus ads an addition to the Horrers of war."⁸⁶ [Note: the spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller]

Unfortunately, the illness and death experienced by the local citizens of Sharpsburg were not something for which the Federal government could provide compensation. Residents found later that they would receive no restitution for much of the material damage they suffered as well.

On October 23, 1862, the Antietam Board of Survey reports were forwarded to Brigadier General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac. General Ingalls' reply

⁸⁵ Stotelmeyer, p.19.

⁸⁶ Jacob Miller letters, December 7, 1862.

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to these reports was an indication of the difficulties the people of Sharpsburg would face in receiving compensation for the terrible damages inflicted on their property during the battle:

"I am well aware that the loyal people of this section of Maryland have suffered severely during this campaign and doubtless to any extent beyond any relief they will ever obtain. I regret that they cannot receive full compensation now for their losses, but no disbursing officer with this Army is authorized to pay any claims for damages."⁸⁷ [emphasis his]

Very few of the 1862 claims were settled immediately because they contained claims for damages to property. Two claims that were settled quickly were from Alfred Poffenberger, then living on the Mary (Grove) Locher farm. Alfred received his "Treasury Settlements" in 1867 and 1869 for claims which included wheat, hay, and corn taken between September 20 - 27, 1862 for \$144.30, and corn, rye, and hay taken September 30, 1862 for \$661.40. No claims for property damage were included which probably explains why his claims were settled quickly. Curiously, however, Alfred Poffenberger submitted a new claim in 1877, for corn, fodder, wheat, rye, straw, and hay for \$645.87 1/2, "Alleged to have been taken from him in Washington County Maryland from September 19th to October 20, 1862," a claim which was later rejected.⁸⁸

Most of the earlier claims were resubmitted in the 1870s, minus the property damage, and included claims for hay, corn, wheat, fodder, oats, rye, fence rails, cord wood, and animals. Claimants were required to prove their loyalty to the Union, usually attested to by neighbors, and were asked to produce receipts or vouchers for the stores taken. These receipts or vouchers, were actually rarely given, as explained by John Otto in his 1873 claim, "... the property was taken during the progress of and soon after the battle of 'Antietam,' then and there being fought, it was impossible to obtain vouchers for stores taken, or to find out the names of the officers under whose direction they were taken..."⁸⁹ The claim process was so difficult, many claims were not settled until the 1880s. The claim of Jacob Nicodemus of C. (the Nicodemus farm) originally submitted October 8, 1866, was still being processed in 1881 when Hannah Nicodemus, Executrix for the Estate of Jacob Nicodemus, sent a note to the Quartermaster General stating that she had hired new attorneys for the collection of the claim due to "serious delays." The claim was for \$410.00 worth of corn, straw, and hay, with no mention of damage to buildings, it was finally

⁸⁷Correspondence accompanying Antietam Board of Survey Reports, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁸Quartermaster Claim M-917, Alfred Poffenberger, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁹Quartermaster Claim G-1857, John Otto, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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paid in 1882.⁹⁰ Some claims, including those of Jacob Miller, his sons Morgan and Andrew (referred to as M. and A. Miller on their claim envelope), Samuel Mumma, and Henry Piper, went to the Congressional Court of Claims in 1888. Apparently this was the last resort for restitution for property damage or disallowed claims; Mumma's and Piper's claims included substantial property damage, and, it is likely that the Miller family had difficulty proving their loyalty. A note on the M. and A. Miller record reads: "1889 still no action taken."⁹¹

The Quartermaster Claims submitted by the citizens of the Sharpsburg District ranged in amounts from \$7,472 from Samuel Mumma whose farm buildings were burned, crops and animals taken, and land trampled and turned into a cemetery, to the meager \$82.47 claimed by Jacob Myers. Most claimants, when they finally received their reimbursements, were given about half the amount claimed. Much of what was claimed as taken by the Federal troops, was taken in the months of Federal encampment around Sharpsburg following the September battle, as Jacob Miller describes in an October 1862 letter.

"The Federal troops are encamped from Harpers Ferry to Hancock, some places thicker than others. Around town they are very thick, the outlots are full. The Groves & farms are all full our wilson farm is full Ottos and Shericks farms are full one regiment had encamped in our fiel adjoening town remained there tel they burnd nearly all the rails within their reach, fed and destroid a large rick of wheat in the field, then they shifted their quaters. they have taken all the hay within their reach they have taken about 30 tons from us about the same quanty from Francis and 80 tons from Morgan and rench [Andrew Rench Miller] they have taken every corn field within their reach fodder and all. have taken all our potatoes not only ours but every bodys within their range. So I suppose we will have to send out to you for potatoes and corn this winter."⁹² [Note: all spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller]

This last statement of Jacob's sheds light on an important aspect of the impact this battle had on the local citizens of Sharpsburg. Much of what was taken by the army was not just of commercial value to the farmers, but was their subsistence stores for the coming winter, especially the cord wood, potatoes, apples, corn, and animal stock. No doubt the people of Sharpsburg faced a difficult winter with only one or two months to prepare. The long Federal encampment also prevented many of the farmers from planting their winter wheat crop, as Jacob

⁹⁰Quartermaster Claim 95-1683, Jacob Nicodemus of C., RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁹¹Antietam Board of Survey Reports, #390, M. and A. Miller, #391, Jacob Miller, these are the envelopes only, the claims were removed and have not been located; Wilshin, pp. 41 and 144.

⁹²Jacob Miller letters, October 1862.

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notes in a December 1862 letter: "We have nine acres wheat down on all of our land and if the army had not been hear [sic] I would have had upward of a hundred. many [sic] of the farmers have not sown a handfull [sic]." ⁹³

Finally, the citizens of Sharpsburg were impacted not only by the physical damage of the Battle of Antietam, but also by the political ramifications borne out as a result of the battle. Lee's invasion of Maryland had been partly motivated by his desire to ease the pressure of continued battle on the farms of Virginia by drawing the U. S. Army of the Potomac north of the Potomac River; he hoped also to resupply his army on the fertile farms of Maryland and Pennsylvania. But more importantly to the cause of the Confederacy, Lee hoped that the presence of the Confederate Army in the border state of Maryland would 'free' the state from the Union, as well as other slave-holding border states, providing more army recruits. Also, if the army should win a battle on northern soil it would enhance the credibility of the Confederacy, hoping to encourage the support of foreign nations such as England and France, and thus bring a quick end to the war. ⁹⁴ As Lee would find, support for his cause in Maryland was soft in Washington County, even among those who had been labeled secessionists by their neighbors, and his defeat at Sharpsburg would ultimately effect support of the Confederacy abroad.

In the North, political opposition to Lincoln and the Republican Party's handling of the war had been growing. The Copperhead or 'Peace Democrat' movement of the Democratic Party, espoused rather simply in Jacob Miller's letters, and expressed in McClellan's defensive approach to battle, had increasingly become a problem for Lincoln and his staff. Following the 'victory' of the Union forces at Antietam, President Lincoln felt the time was right to take away some of the power of the 'Peace Democrats', and remove the possibility of intervention by England and France, by changing the face of the war. By issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the secessionist states, Lincoln effectively ended any chance for a peaceable compromise between North and South, so hoped for by the Copperheads of the North and the less hawkish members of the Confederacy. Bruce Catton describes the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation thus:

"The war now was a war to preserve the Union *and* to end slavery—two causes in one, the combination carrying its own consequences. It could not stop until one side or the other was made incapable of fighting any longer; hence, by the standards of that day, it was going to be an all-out war—hard, ruthless, vicious, with Sheridan carrying devastation across the Shenandoah and Sherman swinging a torch across Georgia and Grant pitilessly grinding two armies to

⁹³Ibid., December 7, 1862.

⁹⁴Perry D. Jamieson, Death in September, The Antietam Campaign. Fort Worth: Ryan Place Publishers, 1995, p. 18.

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powder so that the Confederacy, if it would not die in any other way, might die of sheer exhaustion."⁹⁵

The effect then was to solidify support, in both the North and South, to win the war, rather than end it with a compromise.

This new, ruthless war was not the vision of General George McClellan, who held to the romantic view of an honorable war, and viewed the Antietam battle as "sublime ... a master piece of art."⁹⁶ McClellan's reluctance to pursue the enemy to the bitter end would result in his removal as commander of the Army of the Potomac. That his political opposition to the President's policies was instrumental in his removal was also evident in a September 25, 1862 letter to his wife. He declares, "The Presdt's [sic] late Proclamation, the continuation of Stanton & Halleck in office render it almost impossible for me to retain my commission & self respect at the same time. I cannot make up my mind to fight for such an accursed doctrine as that of a servile insurrection [sic]-- it is too infamous."⁹⁷ McClellan's removal in November, 1862, following the Battle of Antietam marked the end of the naive, gentlemen's war of 1861 and 1862. In the words of a veteran officer of the Second Army Corps, "When the chief passed out of sight, the romance of war was over for the Army of the Potomac."⁹⁸ It appears to me that the author is trying to imply McClellan had a distorted "romantic view of an honorable war" and this notion was possibly supported by some of his troops as suggested in the quote at the end of the paragraph. McClellan was finally disabused of this notion after the battle at Antietam and his subsequent removal by the President.

Shortly following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, on September 24, 1862, Lincoln suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus, "...in respect to all persons arrested, or thereafter, during the rebellion, to be imprisoned, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission."⁹⁹ This move consolidated power in the government and put in jeopardy those citizens who might have opposing opinions to their Republican neighbors. The effect in Sharpsburg was felt almost immediately when, in October of 1862, the Rev. Robert Douglas,

⁹⁵Bruce Catton, Mr. Lincoln's Army. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1951, pp. 329-330.

⁹⁶Steven W. Sears, ed., The Civil War Papers of George B. McClellan, Selected Correspondence 1860-1865. New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1989, p. 469, from Sept. 18, 1862 letter to his wife, Mary Ellen McClellan.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 481, from Sept. 25, 1862 letter to Mary Ellen McClellan.

⁹⁸Catton, p. 336.

⁹⁹John W. Burgess, The Civil War and The Constitution 1859-1865. Vol. 2, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, p. 99.

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father of Confederate officer Henry Kyd Douglas, was arrested on suspicion of signaling the enemy across the Potomac River from a window in his home at Ferry Hill. After some apparently rough treatment in Brunswick and at Fort McHenry over a six-week imprisonment, the elderly Rev. Douglas "was brought before the Provost Marshal. By this gentleman he was treated with much courtesy, and he ascertained, after having undergone an examination, that there was no evidence against him, and that no written charges had ever been preferred."¹⁰⁰ While Rev. Douglas was finally released from prison in 1862, he had become ill in prison and died in 1867.

Another example of the effect of the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus on the citizens of Sharpsburg occurred in 1864, when Jacob Miller, at the time 84 years old, and four of his grown children, were arrested at their homes in Sharpsburg and taken to Harpers Ferry.

"...a Squad of Soldiers came to the house and arrested Sam, Savilla & myself and took us to Harpers-ferry when we got to the mouth of the lane which leads down to the mill the lieutenant and a posy of Soldiers took that road and went on and Arrested Morgan and Rench we Stopped at antielum Bridge til they came up, then we went on to the ferry together. . . .we ware there two & a half weeks . . . Captn Alexandrew who was one of Gen Hunter Staff . . . examined into the matter and found that there was no charge against either of us, the provost Marshal discharged us without asking a word . . ."¹⁰¹ [Note: spelling and punctuation are that of Jacob Miller]

Doubtless, similar stories were told throughout the border states where suspicions among neighbors concerning loyalty to the Union, or possibly simply revenge over a neighborly dispute, however unfounded, could be settled through the military authority of the Provost Guard.

The citizens of the Sharpsburg District had suffered greatly, both physically and mentally, as a result of the devastating Battle of Antietam. The whole divided nation, however, would suffer more in the years to follow as the war intensified and political differences hardened. While Jacob Miller's opinion of the party of Lincoln was harsh, his fears of the long-term effects of the post-Antietam war were probably echoed across the country.

That party [Republican] is the whole and sole cause of all our difficulties and rupture of this, of all Countries the best in the world, and I fear never will be

¹⁰⁰John A. Marshall, The American Bastille: A History of the Arbitrary Arrests and Imprisonment of American Citizens in the Northern and Border States, on Account of their Political Opinions, During the Late Civil War. Philadelphia: Thomas Hartley & Co., 1883, p. 163. This work may be somewhat biased, however the fact remains that Rev. Douglass was arrested without benefit of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and so was imprisoned for 6 weeks without formal charges.

¹⁰¹Jacob Miller letters, September 6, 1864.

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restored, and I know never can be as it was. As to my individual interest in the settlement of this matter will amount to but little as my race is nearly run, but as to the rising generations the difference may be great.¹⁰²

¹⁰²Jacob Miller letters, December 7, 1862.

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III. Post-battle Commemoration and Preservation Activities

The Antietam National Battlefield and the Antietam National Cemetery, as seen today, represent many layers of commemoration. Beginning only five years after the 1862 Battle of Antietam with the establishment of the Antietam National Cemetery, the various forms of commemoration at Antietam have followed the changes in public attitudes toward the Civil War, American history, and preservation in general. The Battlefield site and National Cemetery have served as a tool for memorialization, reconciliation, preservation and education over the intervening years.

Immediately following the bloodiest single day of warfare at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862, the overwhelming task of burial of the approximately 5,000 dead began. Most were buried near where they fell, in the cultivated fields of the farms along the Antietam Creek. As long as the war continued, this rather ignominious resting-place for the soldiers who had given their lives would have to suffice. However, soon after the war, veteran comrades of the fallen at Antietam sought to establish a more suitable burial site and memorial for their fellow soldiers. As early as 1864, Maryland State Senator Lewis P. Firey introduced a resolution "to inquire into the propriety of purchasing on the part of the State, a portion of the battlefield of Antietam, not exceeding twenty acres, for the purposes of a State and National Cemetery, in which the bodies of our heroes who fell in that great struggle and are now bleaching in the upturned furrows, may be gathered for a decent burial, and their memories embalmed in some suitable memorial."¹⁰³ The act clearly expressed the need felt by citizens and veterans alike, to memorialize the soldiers who had given their lives for the cause. In 1865 the original act was superseded by a similar act, which appropriated \$7,000 and suggested that "expenses . . . shall be apportioned among the States connecting themselves with the corporation . . ."¹⁰⁴ Thus nineteen northern states, whose sons had fallen at Antietam, South Mountain, Monocacy, and Hancock helped establish Antietam National Cemetery. The 11 1/4-acre cemetery, located on a hill overlooking the battlefield on the eastern edge of Sharpsburg, was dedicated on September 17, 1867. While the cemetery was originally intended to include fallen Confederate soldiers as well, reconciliation had not progressed that far just two years after the close of the war, and the Confederate dead were buried at Washington Cemetery in Hagerstown.

In 1877, the United States Congress appropriated \$15,000 to pay the debts of the Antietam National Cemetery State Trustees. In return the title to the cemetery was given to the U. S. War Department "to provide for the preservation and superintendence of said cemetery as one of the national cemeteries of the United States . . ."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery An Administrative History. p.1, from History of Antietam Cemetery, 1869.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵Ibid, p. 25.

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Memorialization of those killed in the late Civil War seemed to suffice for the citizens of the United States during the period of reconstruction. Perhaps they were not ready to relive the still painful subject of the divisive war, not ready to commemorate battles, which pitted brother against brother. The farmers along the Antietam Creek were left alone to rebuild their farms after the devastation of the 1862 battle. The agricultural community of the Sharpsburg area again thrived on the grains and corn produced by the farms of the battlefield. In 1868 a Memorial Day tradition was begun in the town of Sharpsburg in which a procession would lead from the Masonic Hall in the town to the National Cemetery, where ceremonies in memory of the fallen were conducted each year. This tradition continues today in the form of the Memorial Day Parade, held every year by the people of Sharpsburg, which ends at the gates of the cemetery.

Beginning in the 1880s, interest in the visitation of battlefields by aging veterans initiated a new era of commemoration at Antietam. The first indication of the increased visits to Antietam was in 1888 when the road bed which led to the cemetery and battlefield site from the Antietam railroad station was improved by the War Department with macadam, curbs, gutters, and sidewalks. A further gesture to the living veterans of the battle was the planting of 300 Maple trees, donated by a Pennsylvania company, to shade the visitors along the route to the cemetery and battlefield.¹⁰⁶ Then, in 1890, after the first National Military Park was created by Congress at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, authorization was also given for a park at Antietam. A field survey of the battlefield at Antietam was begun, to mark the progression of the battle, of both the Union and Confederate armies, with tablets; a similar survey had been initiated at Gettysburg in 1880.¹⁰⁷ Clearly the interest was shifting from memorializing the dead to the memories of the living veterans of the Civil War.

At the same time the War Department was faced with the problem of how to preserve the many battlefields, including Antietam, without repeating the enormous expenditures experienced in the creation of parks at Chickamauga and Gettysburg. The original plan for the preservation of 800 acres of the Antietam battlefield, authorized in 1890 by Congressional Act, would eventually be whittled down to 17 acres. Beginning in 1893, members of the Antietam Board, General Heth and Colonel Stearns, made the recommendation for roads through the battlefield saying,

"On some of the fields, notably, those in the vicinity of the Dunkard church, East Woods, and the Bloody Lane, a large number of tablets will be located. In justice to the farmers owning these fields, we think roadways should be constructed to enable visitors to this battlefield to view and inspect these tablets without trampling upon and injuring growing crops, gardens, orchards, etc."¹⁰⁸

The next year, new Antietam Board President, Major George B. Davis, recommended to then Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont that the Department purchase at Antietam only the land

¹⁰⁶Snell, p. 42.

¹⁰⁷Ibid, p. 67, from the 1895 annual report of Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, p. 78, from the 1893 4th progress report of the Antietam Board.

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necessary for the tablets and roads, leaving the farm fields on which the battle took place in the continued ownership of the farmers. This radical plan for battlefield preservation, now referred to as the Antietam Plan, was described to Congress in 1894 in an essay written by Secretary Lamont.

"Congress has charged the Department with the duty of "preserving and marking" certain lines of battle of Antietam, in order to preserve the field, in all its physical aspects, as nearly as possible in the condition in which it was in September, 1862. This duty can best be performed by leaving the land in the hands of its original owners or their successors, who by continuing to use it for farming, will preserve its topographical features as they existed in 1862."

The Secretary then continued:

"It is the purpose of the Department, if the necessary land can be bought reasonably, but not otherwise, to acquire several lanes or avenues along which the most severe fighting occurred, and upon the sites thus acquired to erect such tablets and markers as will clearly describe and explain the positions and operations of the several organizations of the armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia which were engaged."¹⁰⁹

By 1898 the Antietam Battlefield Site was completed with five miles of roads, 200 iron tablets, inverted cannon monuments marking the death of generals, field guns marking battery placements, fences, the stone observation tower at Bloody Lane, and the cannon monument placed at the Antietam railroad station. In addition, a series of troop movement maps had been created, reproduced from the memories of veterans and locals interviewed by General E. A. Carmen. The series of 14 maps, as published in 1904, were entitled "Atlas of the Battlefield of Antietam (1862), Prepared under the Direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board, Major Geo. W. Davis, U.S.A., President; General E. A. Carman, Late Union Army; General H. Heth, Late Confederate Army. Surveyed by Lt. Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer. Drawn by Charles H. Ourand, 1899."¹¹⁰ These maps are now commonly known as the "Carmen-Cope Maps," and are considered the definitive maps of the Battle of Antietam.

It was during this time, the 1890s and into the early 20th century that the most intense period of monumentation at the Antietam battlefield occurred. The monuments, generally paid for by states or individual veterans groups, not only memorialized the soldiers who died on the battlefield, but also marked the positions of the various regiments. Speeches given at the dedication ceremonies for the monuments speak not only of memorializing the dead, but repeatedly emphasize the theme of reconciliation. This theme was best related at the May 1900

¹⁰⁹Snell, pp. 88-89, 1894 Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont essay to Congress.

¹¹⁰Ibid, pp. 109-112.

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dedication ceremony of the Maryland monument, in a speech given by President McKinley, a veteran of the Union army:

"... I am glad to meet on this field the followers of Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and Johnson, with the followers of McClellan, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, greeting each other, not with arms at their hands but with affection in every heart. One reflection and only one crowds my mind. It is the difference between this scene and the scene thirty-eight years ago when the men wearing the blue and the men wearing the gray visiting in shot and shell, death on each other. This meeting after these many years has but one sentiment, love for Nation and flag."¹¹¹

This timely patriotic sentiment carried the United States through World War I and the Depression years of the 1930s.

Following the transfer of the Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery from the War Department to the National Park Service in 1933, the vision of the purpose of battlefield preservation began to change. In 1934, the size of the battlefield park was still only 50 acres, the increase due only to the donation of monument sites by the states. Beginning in 1935, Superintendent John K. Beckenbaugh began making recommendations for the preservation of endangered historic sites such as the Burnside Bridge, West Woods, the Locher Cabin, and the Dunkard Church. However, it was not until 1940 that Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land for the battlefield, including the Philadelphia Brigade Park, the Spong and Dorsey farms at Burnside Bridge, and the Lee's Headquarters lot. By 1943, the Antietam Battlefield Site had grown to 128 1/2 acres.¹¹² In 1947, NPS Region One Historian Appleman commented:

"... Circumstances have left Sharpsburg and the adjoining countryside relatively unchanged from the Civil War period up to the present, but we cannot expect that this condition will continue very much longer. Time is running short for the Federal Government to act in acquiring... sufficient lands at Antietam to make a battlefield park of this historic ground... The War Department made a mistake in planning its land acquisition program at Antietam."¹¹³

The park service at Antietam did not receive authorization from Congress to purchase land, however, until 1960. The Congressional Act, entitled "An Act to provide for the protection and preservation of the Antietam Battlefield in the State of Maryland," signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, provided for the purchase of approximately 600 acres and scenic easements on 1,017 acres.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹John W. Schildt, Monuments at Antietam. Great Southern Press: Frederick, MD, 1991, p. 51.

¹¹²Snell, p. 173, 179.

¹¹³Ibid, p. 230.

¹¹⁴Ibid, p. 306.

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The vision of battlefield preservation as an educational tool began to take shape in the 1940s as well. In 1941, NPS Historian Lattimore described the interpretive program at Antietam as "neglected," suggesting more staff for interaction with the public, a better museum, and more trailside exhibits. Despite his criticism of the program at Antietam, Lattimore noted,

"... The lack of interest in this park and the consequent failure of government agencies to develop and promote it have been a blessing, however, for the absence of modern improvements Antietam battlefield has retained an atmosphere of authenticity, which is rarely found in other battlefield parks under our administration."¹¹⁵

The centerpiece for the envisioned interpretive program at Antietam National Battlefield was a new park museum, its location described in the 1942 Master Plan to be at the "New York and Maryland [monuments] plot." Sadly, both World War II and the Korean Conflict would force all plans to be put on hold.

Most important to the development of the Antietam National Battlefield as it is seen today was the Mission 66 Program of National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth. Described as "a 10-year effort intended to provide enough money to properly rehabilitate, develop, interpret, and maintain every park in the system," the program required park administrators and historians to develop interpretive plans and set goals.¹¹⁶ Through the Mission 66 Program the Antietam park defined its land acquisition needs and the development of its interpretive program. This development happened to coincide with the Antietam Centennial Committee's preparations for the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam in 1962. Both the Mission 66 Program and the commemoration of the centennial of the battle brought important changes to the battlefield park. Visual changes, especially the construction of the Visitors Center in 1962, along with the addition of land and scenic easements to the park, the reconstruction of the Dunkard (Dunker) Church, the addition of the Clara Barton Monument and three other monuments, are all direct results of the combined efforts at both the Federal and local levels.

The educational aspect of the battlefield preservation and commemoration was also enhanced during this time of Mission 66 and 1962 Centennial celebration. The development of interpretive programs to enhance the understanding of the visiting public of the logistics of the battle as well as the impact of the battle on the outcome of the war, became a major focus in the battlefield park. This attitude toward the importance of education in battlefield commemoration was reflected in "The Purpose of the Commemoration," from the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association Centennial booklet:

¹¹⁵Snell, p. 198.

¹¹⁶Ibid, p. 247.

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"It is fitting, therefore, that the Battle of Antietam be commemorated, both in action and in solemn rededication to instill in the hearts and minds of all of us that "these men did not die in vain." It is our hope that this commemoration will bring forth a new respect for and greater awareness of our past and our future."¹¹⁷

The 1962 re-enactment of the Battle of Antietam, located along Bloody Lane, was the last to be conducted on Federally owned land. The Centennial commemoration was apparently not particularly well attended. A recent 135th commemoration and re-enactment, however, was conducted on a nearby farm and was attended by thousands of re-enactors and spectators.

The Antietam National Battlefield and Antietam National Cemetery are significant in American history for the roles they have played during and after the Civil War. The establishment of the cemetery served to comfort the grieving citizenry immediately following the painful and divisive war. The development of commemorative battlefield sites allowed veterans from both sides to meet on former battlegrounds as brothers, and served to help reconcile the Nation. The continued preservation of battlefields today serves to educate the public about a difficult time in our history, which will hopefully prepare us for the future. The Antietam National Battlefield is unique, as has been noted throughout its history, for its remarkable preservation as a rural farming community, giving the visitor the vision of the Antietam battle, not as a moment in time, but as a moment in a place.

Individual Property History and Significance Updates

1. The Fulk House

The Fulk House, constructed by Charles Keedy in the 1920s or early 1930s, is a representative example of the American Foursquare style of architecture. In addition it is a very early example of the process of development along the edges of farms as agriculture began to wane in its domination of the Sharpsburg area economy in the 20th century. The one-acre lot on which this dwelling stands was carved from the historic Pry farm in the first quarter of the 20th century. The rural, water-powered mill economy, which had supported the farms of the Antietam for more than a century, had given way to the centralized coal-powered mills of the larger cities. Faster rail transportation of grains from the larger farms of the Midwest had also deeply effected the smaller Washington County farms. As farming became less profitable and land for new houses increasingly valuable, more farmers began selling lots along the edges of their farms to enhance their incomes.

2. The Shull Tract

¹¹⁷ Battle of Antietam Centennial and Hagerstown Bicentennial Official Program and Historical Guide, sponsored by the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association, Inc., Aug.31-Sept. 17, 1962, p. 5.

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The Shull Tract is significant as a contributing element to the landscape of the 1862 Battle of Antietam. Located at the northern extreme of the Union line on September 17, 1862, the Shull Tract, then part of the Jacob Coffman farm, served as the staging area for the troops of Brig. General Abner Doubleday's Division of Major General Joseph Hooker's First Army Corps. (Carman-Cope Map, Situation at Daybreak, September 17, 1862). It retains its open, cultivated appearance, with cropland bordered by tree growth along fencelines, and is therefore important, as well for its contribution to the overall rural cultural landscape of Antietam.

3. The Flook Farm

The John Flook (Nicodemus) Farm is significant within the context of the 1862 Battle of Antietam as the location of Major General James E.B. Stuart's horse artillery and the northern extremity of the Confederate defensive line. The location of remnants of Confederate Avenue, which defines the eastern boundary of the farm, adds to the significance of the property as representing the commemorative period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Flook Farm also derives significance as a working farm from the early 19th century with the representative barn and wagon shed, through the 20th century with buildings representing farming practice changes through the years. The construction of the present dwelling house in the 1870s may also represent changes occurring as a result of damages during the 1862 battle. The farm group is also significant for its role in defining the rural cultural landscape at Antietam. While the house was not present at time of the battle, it is nevertheless representative of local and regional construction patterns for farmhouses, and is part of a well-established farmstead that reflects the agricultural and cultural development of the Antietam area.

In 1820-1847 the Nicodemus Farm began to take shape in the hands of Jacob Kauffman (Coffman). The northeastern 100 acres, purchased by Coffman from Jacob Mumma in 1820, were originally part of James Chapline's "Addition to Loss and Gain." The southern portion of the farm was part of Col. Edwin Sprigg's 1747 patent "Resurvey on Addition to Piles Delight." Coffman's acreage north of what would later be known as the Nicodemus Farm was the location of his personal dwelling house (see 1859 Map). It is likely that Jacob Nicodemus was tenancing the southern Coffman acreage prior to his purchase of the farm in 1863.

The low ridge, known as the Nicodemus Heights, situated west of the building complex on the Nicodemus Farm, was the location of Stuart's artillery during the early morning phase of the battle on September 17, 1862. The Nicodemus buildings were sandwiched between the Confederate artillery and the surging tide of Union 1st Corps under the command of General Hooker. Union artillery, charged with disabling Stuart's guns, would undoubtedly have caused some damage to the buildings of the Nicodemus Farm. However, considering the apparent early construction of the barn and wagon shed now standing on the farm, reports that the Nicodemus barn was burned during the battle appear to be false. The 1866 Quartermaster claim submitted by Jacob Nicodemus of C. makes no mention of damages to buildings and even notes the claim for

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12,000 pounds of hay were "taken from the barn" by Union forces occupying the farm following the retreat of the Confederate army.¹¹⁸

Since the present house located on the Nicodemus Farm was built following the 1862 battle, it is generally presumed that the Nicodemus family occupied the house indicated by remnant foundations and stone lined well located several hundred feet southwest of current house. However, the location of these ruins is an unusual distance from the barn and probably warrants further study to determine the original location of the house associated with the extant barn. Possibly also significant is the line found in the 1887 deed for the farm, from Hannah Nicodemus (widow of Jacob) to William Remsburg (son-in-law), which reads: "... being the same farm and premises which was conveyed to Jacob Nicodemus from J. Poffenberger [trustee for the heirs of Jacob Coffman] ..."¹¹⁹

The ensuing years saw the farm sold to Cyrus Remsburg, son of William Remsburg in 1892; to Otho Flook, son-in-law of Cyrus Remsburg in 1941; to John Flook, son of Otho in 1966; and to John Flook, son of John in 1982. The family's farming practices have not changed much through the years either, other than mechanization. The farm was never converted to dairy production, like the D.R. Miller farm, but rather raises cattle, so that no dairy barn was ever constructed. The original "Swisser" barn, proving sufficient for their needs, was therefore well maintained. The addition of various sheds, silos and corncribs illustrates changes in agricultural storage and mechanization in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

4. The Roulette Farm

The Roulette Farm is significant as part of the rural agricultural and battlefield landscape from the 1862 Battle of Antietam. Located at the center of the battlefield, the farm served as the front line for the troops of Confederate General D.H Hill during the early morning phase of the battle. This line was later pushed back as Union troops moved to face the Confederates at the Sunken Road. The Roulette Farm is also significant for its role in the settlement and development of the Sharpsburg area and its farming economy. Remaining in the Miller/Roulette family (related by marriage) for 150 years, the stability of this family farm helped to maintain the tradition of farming in the area into the late 20th century. Architecturally, the complex is an excellent and little altered example of a farm grouping with a full complement of service buildings. The house reflects several periods of construction and retains important interior and exterior features from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An important feature is the intact bake oven, few of which remain in the region.

The history of the Roulette farm stretches at least as far back as the 1791 arrival in Washington County, Maryland of German-born immigrant, John Miller. Miller moved into the

¹¹⁸ Quartermaster Claim #95-1683, RG 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹¹⁹ Washington County Land Record GBO 90/361, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

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area with a wave of German farmers from south central Pennsylvania. By the time of the 1803 tax assessment for Sharpsburg Hundred, the senior John Miller owned 632 acres of "Alese [Ellwick's] Dwelling" and "Joe's Farm," both located north of the town of Sharpsburg.¹²⁰ The acreage from these two patents stretched from the farm later known as the Samuel Poffenberger Farm, south to the northern edge of Sharpsburg. According to T. C. Williams, writing in 1906, the 600 acres owned by John Miller were divided among several of his children after his death. The elder John Miller did not leave a will, but records indicate that his estate was settled in 1821. Daniel Miller, John's oldest son, lived on the farm east of his father (listed as D. Miller on the 1859 Map of Washington Co.). Jacob Miller, John's third son, later sold his portion of "Ellwick's Dwelling" to Daniel Piper. Mary, one of John's daughters, received a parcel which she later sold to her daughter's husband, Dr. Robert F. Kennedy. This property was later known as the Kennedy Farm. John's second son, known as John Miller of J. (referred to in records this way to differentiate him from his contemporary, John Miller of D., father of D. R. Miller, and member of an entirely different Miller family), received from his father approximately 180 acres which would later be known as the Roulette Farm. Williams states that the younger John Miller "settled on a part of the homestead, where he resided throughout his life . . ."¹²¹ It seems likely that John of J. constructed at least part of the dwelling now standing on the Roulette Farm, and lived there until he died, intestate, sometime around 1850. It also seems likely that the younger John Miller was already living on the parcel now known as the Roulette farm before his father's death. It appears that at least some of the Roulette house dates from the 18th or early 19th century and may have been built when John Miller of J. set up housekeeping, which would have been around 1800. After John Miller of J.'s death, the trustees of his estate in 1853 sold the farm to William Roulette who had married Margaret Ann Miller, daughter of John Miller of J. William and Margaret lived and farmed this property throughout the rest of the 19th century.

During the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam, the Roulette farm was first occupied, in the early morning, by the Confederate pickets of General D. H. Hill's Division. Sometime after 10 a.m., after the fighting in the West Woods had died down, Union troops from French's Division, Sumner's 2nd Corps, began the push south, across William Roulette's farm. Richardson's Division later followed them. Over the next 3 ½ hours the Roulette fields between the house and barn and the Sunken Road would be hotly contested by Union and Confederate, until the grossly outnumbered Confederates were finally driven back to Piper's fields. With this the second phase of the bloody battle was ended. McClellan then hoped to crush Lee with a final attack by Burnside on the Confederate right.¹²²

¹²⁰1803 Tax Assessment Record, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²¹Thomas C. Williams History of Washington County, Maryland, From the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time. (Hagerstown, 1906), Baltimore: Clearfield Co. & Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 911.

¹²²James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, pp. 245-261.

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5. D.R. Miller Farm

The D. R. Miller Farm is significant for its role as the ground over which the early morning phase of the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam was fought. The famous "Cornfield" and part of the West Woods were both located on the D. R. Miller Farm. Miller's barn was also mentioned as a temporary hospital following the battle. The D. R. Miller Farm is also significant in the settlement and development of the agricultural economy of the Sharpsburg area, beginning in the 18th century and continuing through the 19th century.

The following is taken from the 1991 D. R. Miller History Report by Paula S. Reed:

"The D. R. Miller Farm complex derives its main significance from its association with the morning phase of the Battle of Antietam which occurred on September 17, 1862. At the opening of the battle, Union General Joe Hooker's First Corps was positioned about a mile north of the junction of the Smoketown Road and the Hagerstown Turnpike. His objective was to gain a moderately raised area of ground just south of that intersection. Also near the intersection was a small white Dunker church, an easy reference point on the landscape. Arrayed against Hooker in the vicinity of the intersection and extending northward along the west side of the Hagerstown Turnpike were Stonewall Jackson's Confederate forces. Confederate artillery was positioned on high ground, Nicodemus Hill, just southwest of Hooker's starting point. Halfway between General Hooker's First Corps and their objective at the Dunker Church area, and directly in his path was David R. Miller's farm ground and buildings. Just south and east of Mr. Miller's house was his 30-acre cornfield which will be forever known as The Cornfield.

The conflict along the Hagerstown Turnpike began about 6:30 A. M. By 9:30 that morning more than 8,000 soldiers were dead or wounded from both sides. Most of the casualties occurred in the cornfield and along the edge of the turnpike, only a few hundred feet south of David R. Miller's house. Centrally located in the morning phase of the Battle, the Miller Farm through fate is remembered in history.

Yet, by 1862, the Miller Farmhouse was already more than half a century old and the land had been claimed under ownership for nearly a century. The house also represents the cultural history of the lower Cumberland Valley and Washington County which was settled chiefly by prosperous German farmers during the late 18th century." It is an excellent example of an 18th century Germanic house type, with a clear history of modification in response to damage done in 1862.

The Miller Farmhouse and barn are also significant for their post-battle additions and changes. Clearly, the Miller farm buildings were impacted by the artillery and infantry battle which raged around them on the morning of September 17th, 1862, which would have required substantial repairs. But the Miller farm continued in its agricultural capacity for another 100

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years after the 1862 battle. The buildings on the D. R. Miller farm tell that story of reconstruction and recovery following the battle, as well as changes in farming practices and prosperity through the late 19th century and into the 20th century."

6. Cunningham Farm

The Cunningham Farm is significant as a contributing element of the rural cultural landscape that comprised what was to become the Antietam Battlefield on September 17, 1862. Adjoining the farms of Piper and Roulette, the fields of the Cunningham Farm saw action during the middle phase of the daylong battle. The farm is significant also for its role in the settlement and development of the Sharpsburg area. Although altered the house, constructed in two parts, appears to date from the late 18th century, and therefore reflects the early development of the Antietam area. The barn retains most of its early features and is significant in that it seems to have missed the late 19th and early 20th century modernization that most barns in central Maryland received to accommodate newer farming and dairy technology.

The land that would eventually make up the Cunningham Farm was first surveyed in 1739 for Dr. George Stuart, in the earliest days of land speculation following the opening of the western Maryland lands for settlement by the Proprietary. The beginning point for the 1739 survey was described as "on the side of a hill within 1/4 mile of the wagon road that crosses Antietam Creek."¹²³ According to T. C. Williams, a log house was located on this property as early as 1733 (it blew down in 1874).¹²⁴ The 208 acres was again surveyed in 1745 for James Smith, another speculator in western lands, and patented "Smith's Hills." In 1762, James Smith sold 292 acres of "Resurvey on Smith's Hills" to Christian Orndorff. Orndorff built a mill complex and mansion house on his land by the Antietam Creek. In 1796, Christopher Orndorff, son of Christian, sold 303 acres of "the parcel called resurvey on Smith's Hills," including the mill, to Jacob Mumma.¹²⁵

By the 1803 Maryland State Tax Assessment, Jacob Mumma was listed as owning 330 acres of "Smith's Hills." This property would have included both the mill and the acreage now known as the Cunningham Farm. Jacob also was listed as owning 182 acres of "Sanderson's Delight" (probably "Anderson's Delight") located south of Joseph Chapline's "Loss and Gain" and likely the location of the farm known now as the Mumma Farm. Jacob Mumma transferred ownership of the properties to his oldest son John, who operated the mill, in 1821. When John died in 1835, without a will, he was in default on his mortgage to his father. Washington County Chancery Court records show that the court ordered the "farm and mill of said deceased," 403

¹²³Tracey Land Patent Map of Washington County, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²⁴Thomas C. Williams, History of Washington County, Maryland, From the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time. (Hagerstown, 1906), Baltimore: Clearfield Co. & Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 1302.

¹²⁵Washington Co. Land Record I/764, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

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acres in total, to be sold in 1836.¹²⁶ Jacob purchased his property back at the public sale, and in 1837 sold 324 acres to his youngest son Samuel. This sale appears to have included all of Jacob's holdings except the mill complex.

Given that the Mumma family owned the "Smith's Hills" acreage as early as 1796, and that this farm was not contiguous with the farm on "Anderson's Delight," it is probably safe to assume the house and barn on the Cunningham farm were constructed by the Mumma family. There is some evidence that points to Samuel Mumma working and residing at the Mumma's "other" farm. The 1840 U. S. Population Census lists Jacob and Samuel Mumma as separate Heads-of-Households. An 1843 Deed of Trust agreement, between Samuel Mumma and his creditors, puts the "lower farm" (Cunningham Farm) of 190 acres as Samuel's collateral. The 1850 U. S. Agricultural Census lists Samuel with a 190-acre farm and Jacob with 175 acres. By the 1860 U. S. Agricultural Census, approximately 10 years after his father's death, Samuel lists only 150 acres of farmland, presumably having tenanted out the "lower farm."¹²⁷

In 1861, Samuel Mumma sold the "lower farm," described in the deed as 166 ½ acres, to Philip Pry. Pry owned a farm and manor house on the east side of Antietam Creek and probably also tenanted the "lower farm." On September 17, 1862, the Pry farm on the west side of the creek was on the eastern edge of the late morning phase of the Battle of Antietam. The Confederate position, with General D.H. Hill's division, was along the Sunken Road. This position was contested by the Union 2nd Corps divisions of Generals French and Richardson. According to the Carman-Cope 10:30 a.m. situation map, the Union Brigade under Caldwell's command (Richardson's Division) lined up on the fields west of the (Cunningham) farmhouse, the extreme left of the Union line.

"Caldwell came onto the field on Meagher's left through a plowed field. Since the Irish Brigade was facing Hill's right, Caldwell found himself in left field, so to speak, or much too far to do any good since he faced none of the enemy. At this particular point, the fate of Lee's center was in Caldwell's hands. . . . Richardson ordered him to relieve Meagher's brigade. Caldwell gave a "right flank march" and his five regiments filed in behind Meagher, passing his line "in the most perfect order, under a severe fire of musketry." It was one of the smoothest exhibition of troop movements in the entire battle. As Caldwell moved in, Meagher's brigade took a "left flank" and marched out and around to the rear. Now Caldwell faced the enemy's front . . ."¹²⁸

¹²⁶Washington Co. Chancery Record, Liber 2, Folio 749, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²⁷U. S. Population and Agricultural Census Records, Maryland Archives, Annapolis, MD; Washington County Land Record, DHW 1/408.

¹²⁸James V. Murfin, *The Gleam of Bayonets*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, p. 256.

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Union and Confederate hotly contested the fields around the Sunken Road for 3 ½ hours, until the grossly outnumbered Confederates were finally driven back to Piper's fields.

Shortly after the war was over, Philip Pry sold his 'west of the Antietam' farm to Jacob F. Miller. Jacob F. Miller also owned another farm in the area, known as the Willow Spring Farm, and likely continued to tenant his recently purchased farm on the Antietam. In 1884 the farm was sold to Henry W. Rohrer. Through inheritance and sale, apparently continuing in the Rohrer family by marriage, the farm came into the hands of William H. Cunningham in 1960.

7. Otto Farm.

The Otto House and grounds are significant for the role they played during the afternoon phase of the daylong September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam. As the two armies contested the fields of the Otto Farm, the house, barn and yard were pressed into service as a hospital. The Otto farm property is significant also as an early 19th century farm in the development of the agricultural economy of the Antietam drainage. Built into a hillside, it adapted to the hilly terrain of the Sharpsburg area and utilized typical local construction materials log and limestone. The acreage was small for a farm by Washington County standards, but the Otto family compensated by farming other acreage and prospered in the grain-based economy of the 19th century. The Otto house is additionally significant for its architecture as an excellent example of an unusual (although not rare) variation of log construction, which combines traditional corner post timber framing with horizontal log construction. Important interior finishing elements remain intact as well, along with exterior finishing of spaces beneath the porches as though they were interior space with baseboard and plaster. This finishing preference was frequent in the region in the early and mid 19th century.

The 66-acre John Otto Farm was divided from a parcel of Joseph Chapline's tract called "Mount Pleasant," sold to Peter Ham (Hamm, Harn) in 1815. Ham lived in the town of Sharpsburg and also operated a tanyard there. When Ham died in 1819, he willed all of his property, except the tanyard, to his wife Margaret. An 1828 advertisement for public sale placed by the widow Ham, describes the farm as "A Valuable Plantation, containing about 145 acres of first rate Limestone Land, with common improvements and a never-failing spring thereon . . ."¹²⁹ Apparently the farm did not sell, however, and in 1831 Mrs. Ham sold 66 acres 120 perches, or half of what was actually a 133 acre tract, presumably the half with the improvements, to John Otto. The other half of the tract was sold to Joseph Sherrick in 1833. A farm lane divided the two halves, providing access to the fields of both owners (see 1859 map).

John Otto, the son of a German immigrant tailor, was apparently a successful farmer. By 1862 he owned and cultivated three farms, including his 66-acre home farm, totaling over 300 acres, with over 500 head of cattle (a large number of livestock for the time). All three of John

¹²⁹Torchlight and Public Advertiser, April 24, 1828, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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Otto's farms were impacted by the battle and the ensuing month-long Union encampment, but none more intensely than the home farm. In addition to hay, corn, rye, wheat, straw, oats, and fence rails taken from his barn and fields, Otto claimed:

"The thirteen cords of wood charged for was cut and seasoned and was piled up in my yard for winter use at the farm near Burnside Bridge. It was burned for fuel in the Hospital and by the soldiers around my house . . ."

The use of the home farm as a hospital is further described by Otto:

"My House, Barn, and Granary were taken possession of September 17th and used for Hospital purposes til the 4th of Nov. 1862, during which time everything in and around it that could be of any service, was taken and used, including Beds, Furniture, Commissary stores, condiments and anything that would contribute to the comfort of the wounded."¹³⁰

Otto's second wife died shortly after the war, in 1867. Three years later he sold the small farm near the Burnside Bridge to Jacob Stine. In 1891 Stine purchased the other half of the original farm, and in 1908 sold the whole tract to James A. Dorsey. The Dorsey family continued to farm the tract through the next six decades. In 1971 the Dorseys parceled out the farmhouse complex on 2.15 acres to Charles and Orpha Mae Kauffman (possibly a daughter and son-in-law). In 1976 the Kauffmans sold the house and grounds to the National Park Foundation who in turn donated the property to the Antietam National Battlefield. The house has remained unoccupied since that time.

8. Locher/Alfred Poffenberger Farm

The Locher/A. Poffenberger Farm is significant for its role in the early morning phase of the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam. Situated on the western edge of the West Woods, the Locher/Poffenberger Farm was occupied by Confederate forces. Both sides hotly contested the area around the building complex as the Union 2nd Corps broke through the woods. The farm is also significant as one of the earliest extant buildings from the settlement period of Washington County, Maryland. Archaeological investigations conducted in the vicinity of the dwelling complex indicate occupation at the site as early as 1790, but also suggest possible earlier deposits are located under the northern frame addition.

The tract on which the Locher/Poffenberger Farm is located was first surveyed and patented by Richard Sprigg in 1734. Washington County Land Patent records indicate Richard Sprigg was granted 500 acres under the name of Piles Grove at that time. In 1743 Col. Edwin (Edward) Sprigg was granted 117 acres of Piles Delight (Addition), "Beginning at the end of the

¹³⁰Quartermaster Claim #G-1857, dated 1873, RG 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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15th line of a tract of land called Piles Delight, granted Richard Sprigg.¹³¹ Col. Sprigg had the two patents resurveyed in 1750 into a tract of 2,617 acres called Piles Delight (Addition and Resurvey), more commonly known as Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight. This tract of land was typical of the eastern Maryland land speculators (usually English or Scotch/Irish) who acquired large grants of land and leased or sold the land in smaller parcels to arriving settlers (usually German). In 1791, Sprigg's son, Frederick, of Montgomery County, Maryland, sold the entire tract to David McMechen of Baltimore. A 1792 advertisement in the Hagerstown newspaper, The Washington Spy indicated the land was under cultivation by renters or leasees. "Possession of the lands will be given immediately, but liberty reserved to the persons occupying any part thereof to gather and remove crops now growing thereon and to hold possession of their respective fields until that is done."¹³² Undoubtedly some of the rental arrangements continued under the ownership of McMechen, however, an 1803 tax assessment lists fourteen persons showing ownership of "part of R. of Addition to Piles Delight" indicating the tract was subdivided and sold following the 1792 sale.¹³³

In 1811, following David McMechen's death, executor William McMechen put the remaining 600 acres of Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight up for sale. There is some indication in the newspaper sale advertisement that John Good, described as "on the place," may have been living somewhere on the remaining acreage.¹³⁴ John McPherson and John Brien, both of Frederick County, well known land speculators and owners of the nearby Antietam Iron Works, purchased the parcel. Three years later, in 1814, McPherson and Brien, who had paid \$19,300 for the entire 600 acres, sold 225 acres to Philip Grove for \$13,500. Another parcel had already been sold to Michael Havenar, this was probably located north of the Grove parcel and would eventually become the Nicodemus Farm. The deed to Philip Grove indicates the "division line fenced and agreed on between Philip Grove and Michael Havenar [runs] through a lane..." Probably this was the old farm lane that lead from the Hagerstown Road to the subject log house and eventually out to the Joseph Grove farm (later J. Hauser farm). This later became the basis for Confederate Ave. in the 1890s.

Philip Grove's Last Will and Testament, probated 1841, divided the farm on Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight between his daughter Mary (Grove) Locher, and his son Joseph Grove. Each received an equal 112-acre share of the property. Since Mary lived with her husband in Pennsylvania, she leased the farm and its associated log dwelling, as it probably had been for its entire existence. By the 1862 Battle of Antietam, the tenant on the Mary Locher farm was Alfred Poffenberger.

¹³¹ Washington Co. Land Patent Records, Book 1, Page 1 "Piles Grove," Book 1, Page 18-19 "Piles Delight (Addition)", Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³² The Washington Spy, July 11, 1792, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³³ 1803 U. S. Tax Assessment, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³⁴ Hagerstown Gazette, March 5, 1811, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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The Confederate forces of Jackson and Hood throughout much of the early morning phase of the battle occupied the Alfred Poffenberger farm. Surrounded by artillery, it is incredible that any portion of the dwelling house and barn might have survived attempts by Union artillery to take out their Confederate counterparts. In the final confusing hour of the battle for the West Woods, the Alfred Poffenberger house was engulfed by the opposing troops of Segwick and McLaws.¹³⁵

While damages inflicted to the Alfred Poffenberger farmhouse and buildings must have been substantial, his claims to the government do not reflect that. Possibly because it would have been impossible to determine whether the damages had been caused by Union or Confederate troops. Alfred Poffenberger did submit two claims to the Federal Government for Quartermaster stores. He received his "Treasury Settlements" in 1867 and 1869 for claims which included wheat, hay, and corn taken between September 20 - 27, 1862 for \$144.30, and corn, rye, and hay taken September 30, 1862 for \$661.40. Curiously, Alfred Poffenberger submitted a new claim in 1877, for seemingly the same stores: corn, fodder, wheat, rye, straw, and hay for \$645.87 1/2, "Alleged to have been taken from him in Washington County Maryland from September 19th to October 20, 1862," a claim which was later rejected.¹³⁶ Strangely, archaeological investigations carried out around the Locher/A. Poffenberger dwelling found no battle-related artifacts.¹³⁷ Perhaps an enterprising young Alfred recognized the opportunity and collected and sold much of what had been deposited on his property.

Alfred Poffenberger remained on the Locher farm as tenant at least until 1870, when he appeared on the U. S. Agricultural Census for the Sharpsburg District. By 1877, when he filed his third war claim to the War Department, he was listed as living in Iowa. The next tenant, George Poffenberger, may have lived in the log house, but only for a short time. By 1883, George had purchased 65 acres from the David R. Miller farm and immediately built a house there, while still renting the Locher farm and presumably the farm buildings. In 1898, George Poffenberger purchased the Locher farm from the heirs of Mary Locher. The Poffenberger family retained the farm until 1991 when it was sold to the Conservation Fund for donation to the Antietam National Battlefield.

Phase I and II archaeological investigations conducted in the area of the Locher/Poffenberger house site found artifacts dating from early to late 19th century occupations. Manning-Sterling, Brown and Klein note:

¹³⁵See Carman-Copes situation maps, James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, pp. 216-234.

¹³⁶Quartermaster Claim M-917, Alfred Poffenberger, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹³⁷Elise Manning Sterling, Marvin A. Brown, and Terry H. Klein, "Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Woods, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland," Greiner, Inc., Florence, NJ, p. 14.

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"The available evidence suggests that the earlier occupants of the cabin discarded at least a portion of their trash by throwing it out the original windows and doors, and that the discard pattern may have changed in later years when the door to the kitchen [north] addition became the primary door for the building. Ceramic analysis suggests that this transition may have taken place sometime in the 1820s. This pattern indicates that there may be a sealed layer of refuse under the northern addition to the cabin, as the garbage discarded by the earlier occupants would have been covered by the kitchen addition."¹³⁸

Phase II excavations located an earthen cellar east of the dwelling and the stone foundation of the southern section of the house. Phase II investigations were discussed in a paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, January 1996. More detailed discussion of results of the Phase II excavations is expected in the final report of the 5 years of excavations conducted at the Antietam National Battlefield by URS Greiner, scheduled to be distributed in September 1999.

Archaeological Investigations in the Antietam National Battlefield Park

Archaeological investigations have been conducted on the Piper Farm, the Mumma Farm, the D.R. Miller Farm, and the Locher/Poffenberger Farm. The work done on the Piper Barn in 1979, and the Piper Farm House in 1984-85 was conducted by National Park Service archaeologists Ellen M. Seidel (Piper Barn) and Robert C. Sonderman (Piper House), and was described in a summary report for each excavation. These were both associated with Section 106 impact assessments for restoration and rehabilitation projects on the Piper Farm. In addition, the NPS Regional Archeological Program conducted a remote sensing project in 1994 on the Mumma Cemetery; Marian Creveling describes the work in a report. More recent excavations, beginning in 1994 and continuing through 1997, were conducted in preparation for the implementation of the General Management Plan for Antietam National Battlefield. The investigations were conducted on the Mumma Farm; the D.R. Miller Farm, specifically within the area of the North, East, and West Woods; and around the Locher/Poffenberger log house. URS Greiner and Associates did this work under contract in four phases; a complete final report is currently in progress. Interim reports available include a Phase I Progress Report for the West Woods survey, 1995; a summary paper for the Phase II excavations conducted around the Locher/Poffenberger house, 1995; and a computer visualization project report, 1997. Some of the results of 1997 excavations conducted on the Mumma Farmstead by URS Greiner are discussed briefly in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, completed by Audrey T. Tepper, NPS Denver Service Center, 1998.

Locher/Poffenberger Farm

¹³⁸Ibid, p. 16.

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Phase I archaeological investigations conducted in the area of the Locher/Poffenberger house site are discussed in Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Woods, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland, by Elise H. Manning Sterling, Marvin A. Brown, and Terry H. Klein of Greiner, Inc. (now URS Greiner and Associates). Shovel tests done in the area of the house revealed artifacts dating from early 19th century occupations in sealed soil contexts. Manning-Sterling, Brown and Klein note:

"The available evidence suggests that the earlier occupants of the cabin discarded at least a portion of their trash by throwing it out the original windows and doors, and that the discard pattern may have changed in later years when the door to the kitchen [north] addition became the primary door for the building. Ceramic analysis suggests that this transition may have taken place sometime in the 1820s. This pattern indicates that there may be a sealed layer of refuse under the northern addition to the cabin, as the garbage discarded by the earlier occupants would have been covered by the kitchen addition."¹³⁹

Given the evidence of intact early domestic deposits, and its potential for yielding information about early tenant farming in the region, Phase II excavations were recommended.

Phase II excavations on the Locher/Poffenberger Farm were conducted in November 1995 and are discussed in a paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, January 1996, by Elise H. Manning-Sterling and Bruce B. Sterling. A more detailed discussion of results of the Phase II excavations is expected in the final report by URS Greiner and Associates.

Cultural features located and examined during the Phase II excavations include an earthen cellar east of the dwelling and the stone foundation of the southern section of the house. The artifact assemblage recovered included a large percentage of ceramic shards from both the early 19th century occupation and the mid to late 19th century occupations of Alfred and George Poffenberger. The Locher/Poffenberger Farm site is an important window on the historic cultural landscape of the Sharpsburg area. Manning-Sterling and Sterling conclude:

"The archaeological record . . . indicates that an unknown tenant, with the means and savvy to acquire the most current ceramics lived here early in the century, and offers insight into the consumer choices made by the families of Alfred and George Poffenberger. The excavations can also provide data which will help discern that changing use of the land and construction techniques through time and provide information about the sites role as battlefield, hospital, and military encampment. Through the continuing historic and archaeological investigations of this unique farmstead, we may attain a better understanding of the social and economic aspects of life in rural nineteenth century Maryland."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹Ibid, p. 16.

¹⁴⁰Elise H. Manning-Sterling and Bruce B. Sterling, "Battlefield and Farmstead The West Woods Survey, Antietam." Paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, Cincinnati, Ohio, January 4, 1996, p. 9.

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D.R. Miller Farm

Phase I investigations completed in the area of the West Woods in the fall of 1994 and spring of 1995 were reported in the Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Wood, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland, cited above. Greiner, Inc. (URS Greiner and Associates) conducted the work in preparation for the expected West Woods restoration project. The investigation revealed scatters and concentrations of military artifacts. Late 19th early 20th century domestic concentrations were found around the George Poffenberger house sites.

Similar investigations were reportedly conducted in the area of the North Woods and the East Woods in 1996 and 1997. These surveys, described as parts 1 and 2 of Phase III of the URS Greiner multi-year contract are referenced in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, Audrey T. Tepper, NPS Denver Service Center, 1998, Appendix L, Scope of Work for Archeological Services and URS Greiner and Associates. No interim report of the North and East Woods investigations was available for review. A comprehensive final report from URS Greiner is expected in 1999.

Mumma Farm

Phase IV of the URS Greiner multi-year contract to conduct archaeological investigations took place in 1997. These investigations are referenced in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, Appendix L, Scope of Work for Archeological Services and URS Greiner and Associates, cited above. The work reportedly done as part of Phase IV included, completion of an enlarged area of the East Woods survey; the Piper Orchard/Piper Farm pasture conservation project; Sherrick Farm pasture water project; Branch Ave. Wayside exhibit survey; the Mumma Orchard survey; and the survey of the Mumma Farmstead around proposed areas of development. No interim report of any of these surveys was available for review. However, several results from the investigations at the Mumma Farm are cited in the Mumma Barn HSR. These include a cistern located below the Mumma Barn driveway, and battle-related artillery lines located in the Mumma orchard (now a field) during a metal detector survey. A comprehensive final report from URS Greiner is expected in 1999.

An intriguing experimental survey conducted on the Mumma Farm is discussed in the 1997 URS Greiner report Using Computer Visualization to Help Recreate Historical Features on the Contemporary Landscape, by Jeff Coleman. Here an 1862 Gardener photograph and contemporary photos of the Mumma Farm were compared using computer graphic aids to help pinpoint the location of missing farm buildings. A similar study was done using an 1862 battlefield sketch and modern photographs to locate the mass burials near Bloody Lane.

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The NPS Regional Archeology Program investigated the Mumma Cemetery using remote sensing equipment in 1994. The report Geophysical Prospecting at the Mumma Family Cemetery Antietam National Battlefield, was produced by Marian Creveling. The work was conducted to determine the possibility of unmarked graves or realigned grave markers. The result was inconclusive, indicating that more intrusive investigations would be necessary but were not recommended.

Piper Farm

Excavations were conducted by National Park Service archaeologists in 1979, in the vicinity of the Piper Barn in preparation for the stabilization of the barn. The report entitled "Archeological Excavations Piper Barn Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland" by Ellen M. Seidel, described the purpose of the excavations was to enable the location of "ground-disturbing restoration activities in areas where they will avoid disturbance of any kind." The archaeological investigations focused on the construction sequence of the barn as well as repairs which had been made to the barn over the years and the construction of a nearby cistern. No diagnostic artifacts are noted in the report.

In the winter 1984/1985 excavations were conducted in the north and east yards of the Piper House, under Section 106 regulations, to assess the impact of planned rehabilitation work to be done on the house. The work was reported in "Archeological Test Excavations at Piper Farm House (18WA321), Antietam National Battlefield" by Robert C. Sonderman, National Capital Region Archeology Program. Areas were tested prior to the construction of a drain line, drain field, and septic tank in the north yard, as well as, the footprint for a bathroom addition on the southeast corner of the Piper House. Three of the units in the north yard produced mainly 20th century artifacts and showed disturbance from the construction of a nearby cistern and north porch. However, no layers of earlier occupation were found. Unit 4, located in a natural low area of the north yard produced a deeper level with mid 19th century artifacts. This was described as a possible buried soil horizon associated with infilling of the low spot. This is now the location of the septic tank. The east yard revealed extremely shallow soils producing only 20th century artifacts.

It is interesting to note that no artifacts earlier than mid 19th century were found in the yard of the Piper House. This information, combined with the awkward position of the house in relation to its early 19th century barn, suggests the possibility of an earlier house site on the Piper Farm property.

The exciting potential for the understanding of the historic cultural landscape as illustrated by the excavations at the Locher/Poffenberger Farm site is an important asset of the remarkably well preserved farms located within the boundaries of the Antietam National

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Battlefield. The Miller, Otto, Sherrick, Piper, Roulette, and Mumma Farms all hold the same potential for yielding cultural information because of their documented periods of continuous family ownership. While the Mumma, Piper, and Locher/Poffenberger Farms have been studied to some extent, the Miller, Otto, Sherrick, and Roulette Farms have had little or no work done.

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Maps

Tracey Map, early land patents of Washington County as plotted by Dr. Tracey.

Griffith, Dennis, Map of the State of Maryland, 1794.

Varle, Charles, Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland, 1808.

Taggart, Thomas, A Map of Washington County, 1859.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

National Register Nomination Update, Antietam
National Battlefield

Name of Property

Washington County, Maryland

County and State

Section 9 Page 7

Lake, Griffing and Stevenson, An Illustrated Atlas of Washington Co., Maryland,
Philadelphia, 1877.

Name of Property _____

County and State _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property _____

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

1	Zone	Easting	Northing
2			

3	Zone	Easting	Northing
4			

☐ See continuation sheet**Verbal Boundary Description**

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared Byname/title Paula S. Reed, PhD, Architectural Historianorganization Paula S. Reed and Associates, Inc.date Nov. 1999street & number 105 N. Potomac Streettelephone 301-739-2070city or town Hagerstownstate Marylandzip code 21740**Additional Documentation**

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets**Maps**A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.**Photographs**Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.**Additional Items**

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO)

name _____

street & number _____

telephone _____

city or town _____

state _____

zip code _____

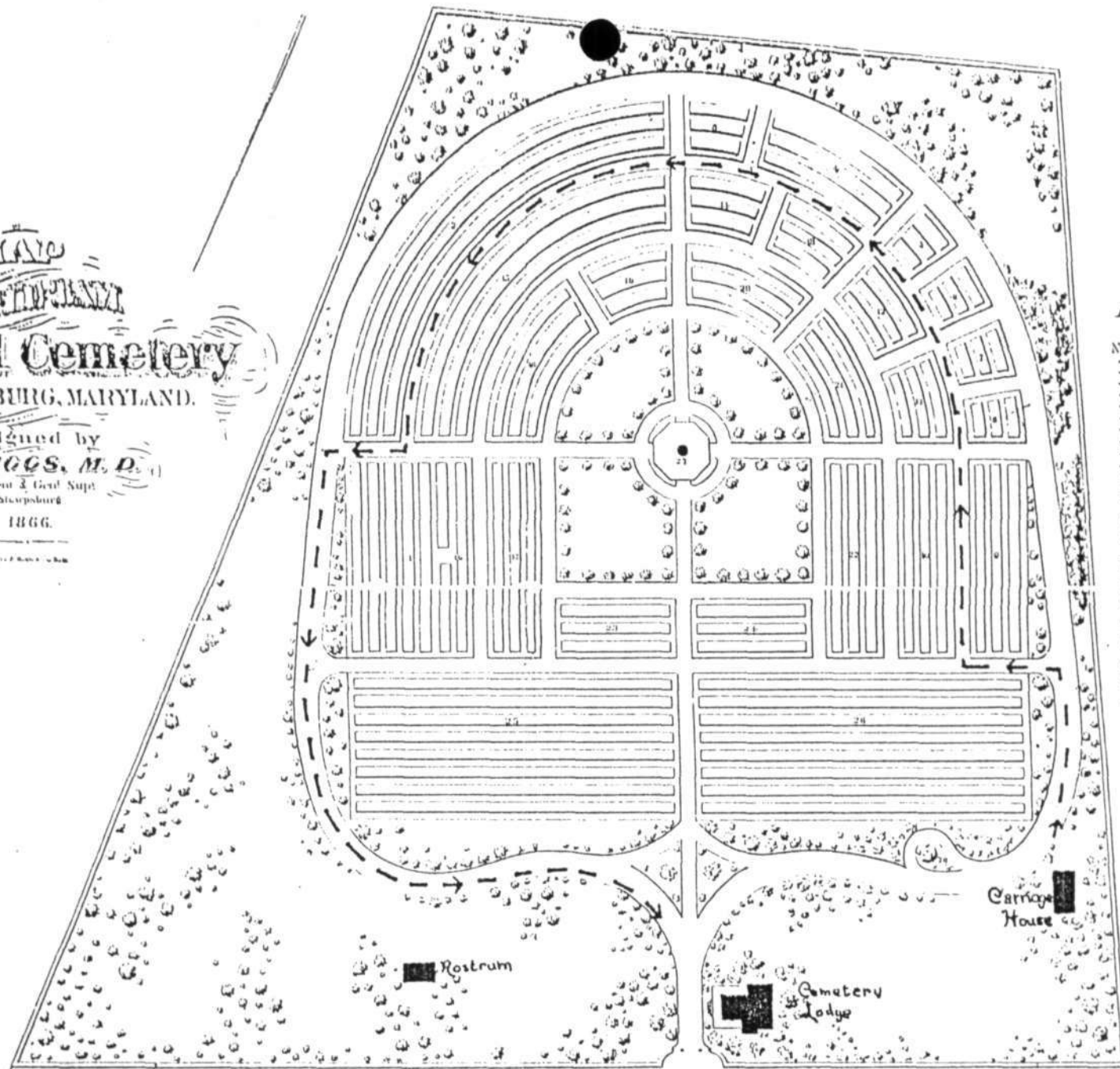
Paperwork Reduction Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

at SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND.

Designed by
A. A. BIGGS, M. D.
 President & Genl. Supt.
 Sharpsburg
 1866.

1866.



REFERENCES.

- | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------|
| No. | 1 | Ohio. |
| | 2 | Unknown U.S. Soldiers. |
| | 3 | " Soldiers. |
| | 4 | " U.S. Soldiers. |
| | 5 | Minnesota. |
| | 6 | Iowa. |
| | 7 | Illinois. |
| | 8 | Delaware. |
| | 9 | Maine. |
| | 10 | Massachusetts. |
| | 11 | New Jersey. |
| | 12 | New Hampshire. |
| | 13 | Rhode Island. |
| | 14 | West Virginia. |
| | 15 | Unknown U.S. Soldiers. |
| | 16 | Connecticut. |
| | 17 | Maine. |
| | 18 | Michigan. |
| | 19 | Maryland. |
| | 20 | West Virginia. |
| | 21 | Vermont. |
| | 22 | Indiana. |
| | 23 | U.S. Officers. |
| | 24 | " Regulars. |
| | 25 | New York. |
| | 26 | Pennsylvania. |
| | 27 | Massachusetts. |
| | 28 | Genl. Lee's Burial. |
| | 29 | Porter's Lodge. |

Surveyed and Drawn by
 Chas. P. Kahler, C. E.

1867.

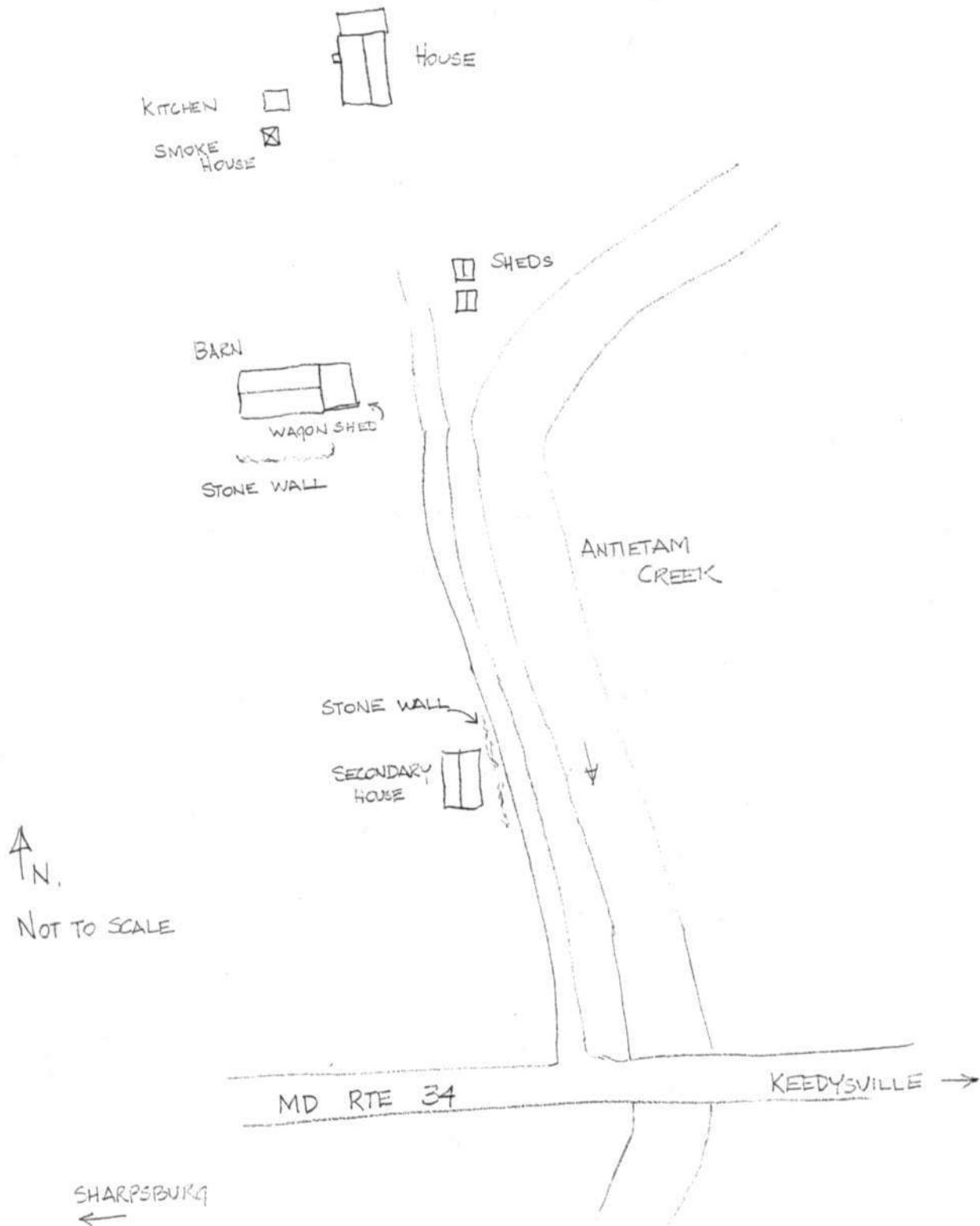
Scale 50 ft. to 1 inch.

SHARPSBURG AND BOONSBORO TURNPIKE.

WA-11-0477

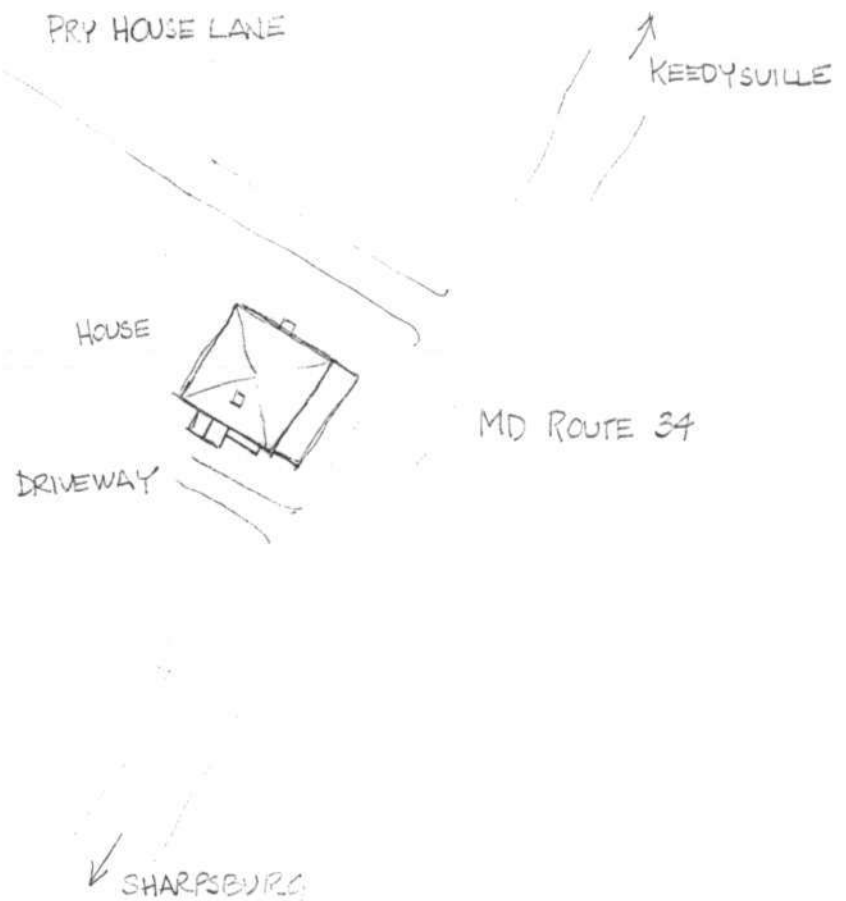
CUNNINGHAM FARM
16442 SHEPHERDSTOWN PIKE
KEEDYSVILLE, MD

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD



WA-11-0477

THE FULK HOUSE
ANTHETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
18902 SHEPHERDSTOWN PIKE
KEEDYSVILLE, MD

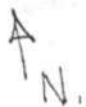
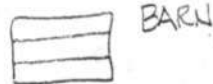
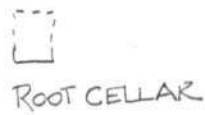
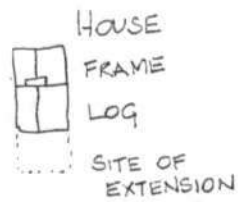


↑
NORTH

NOT TO SCALE

WA-11-0477

LOCHER HOUSE
WEST SIDE, MD. RTE 65
SHARPSBURG, MD
ANTIETAM NATIONAL
BATTLEFIELD



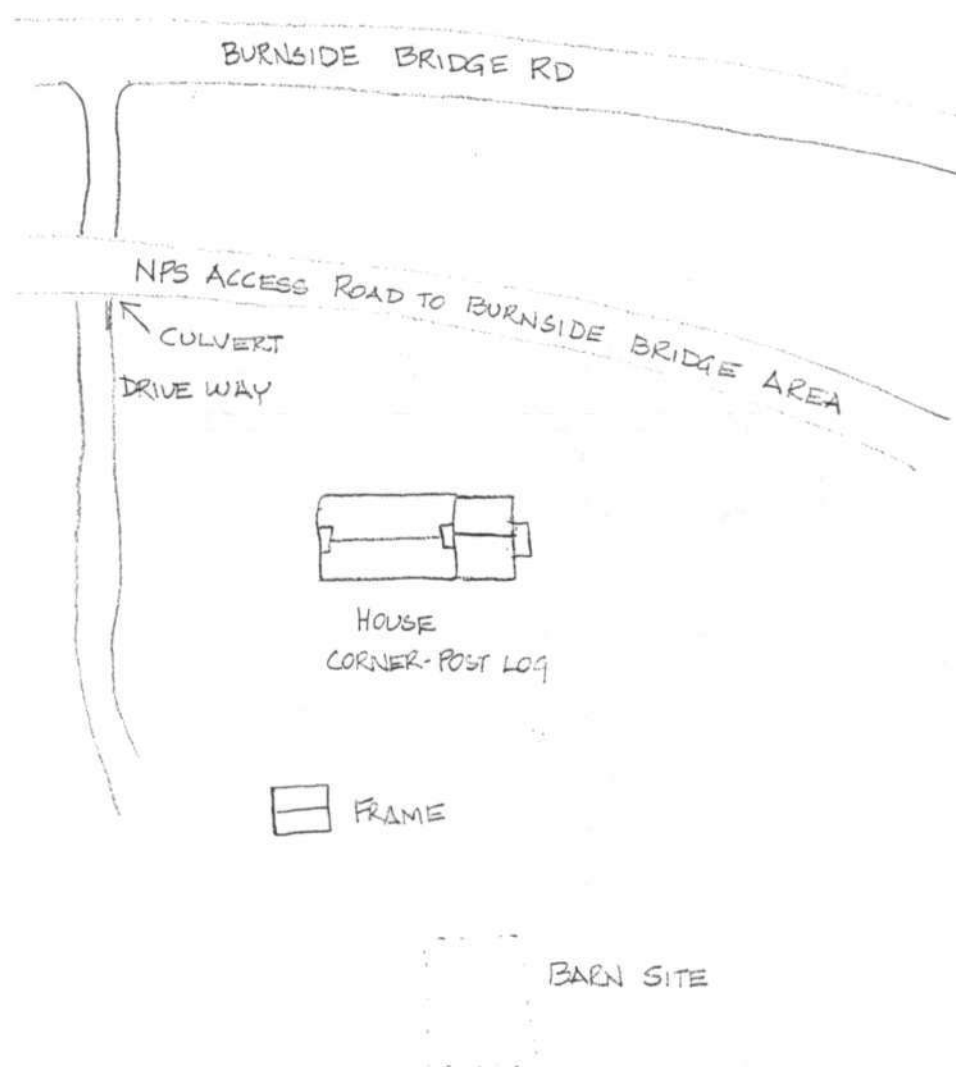
NOT TO SCALE

WA-11-0477

OTTO FARM
BURNSIDE BRIDGE RD
SHARPSBURG, MD

ANTIETAM NATIONAL
BATTLEFIELD

↑ N.
NOT TO SCALE



WA-11-0477

SHULL TRACT
17710 MONDELL ROAD
SHARPSBURG, MD

AND

JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

11-ACRE TRACT
CONTRIBUTING FARMLAND

SHULL TRACT

1970S
RANCH-STYLE
HOUSE (NON-CONTRIB.)

HAGERSTOWN

MD RTE 65
SHARPSBURG PIKE

MANSFIELD AVE

MONDELL
ROAD

OLD SHARPSBURG-HAGERSTOWN
PIKE

SHARPSBURG

SILLO
BARN
C
METAL
BARN
N/C

WASH
HOUSE
C
SHEDS
WAGON
SHED
C
SMITH SHOP
SITE
C

HOUSE
C

TRACE
OF CONFEDERATE
AVE

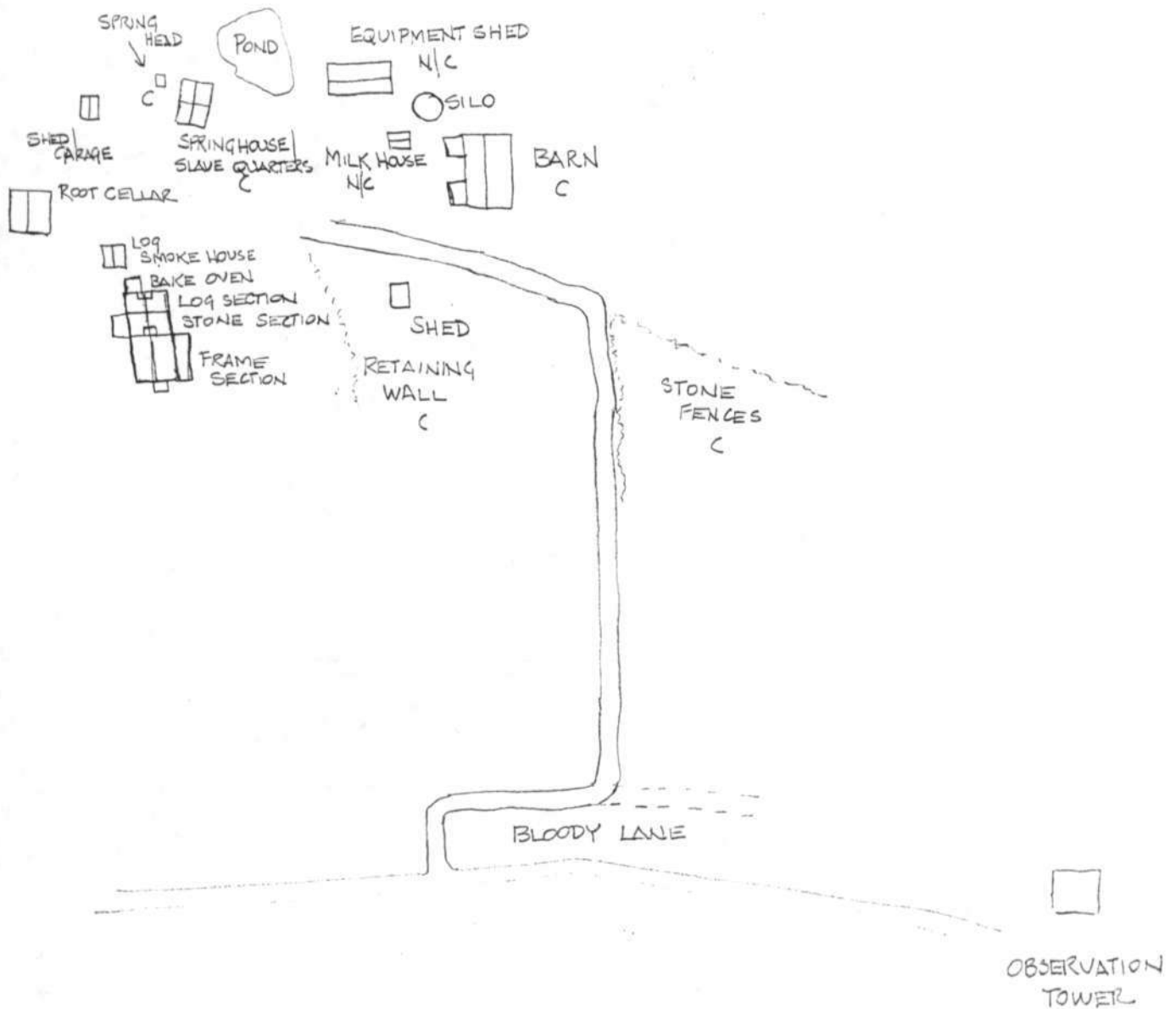
EARLIER
HOUSE SITE
C

JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

N.

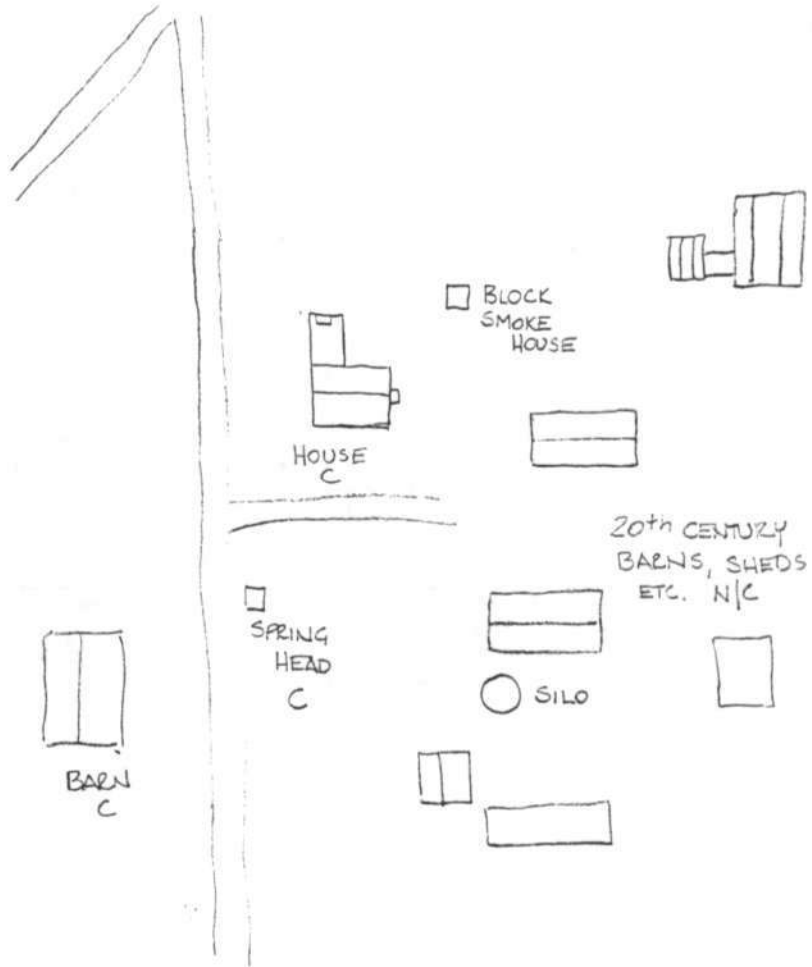
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ROULETTE FARM
18100 BLOODY LANE
SHARPSBURG, MD



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NOT TO SCALE

MD ROUTE
65



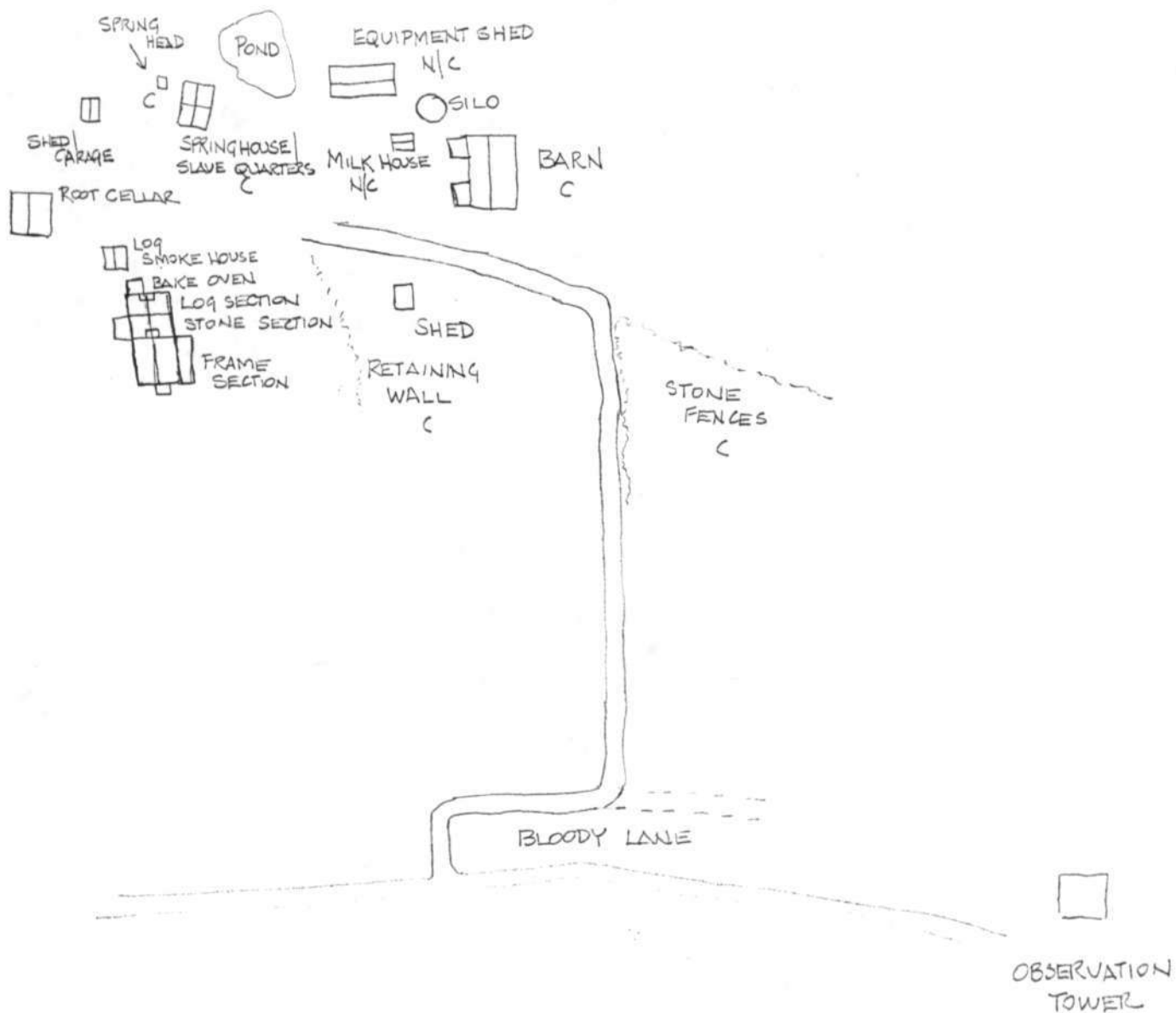
DR. MILLER FARM
6143 DUNKER CHURCH RD
SHARPSBURG, MD

↑
N.

NOT TO SCALE

WA-11-0477

ROULETTE FARM
18100 BLOODY LANE
SHARPSBURG, MD



↑ N.
NOT TO SCALE

WA-11-0477

SHULL TRACT
17710 MONDELL ROAD
SHARPSBURG, MD

AND

JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

11-ACRE TRACT
CONTRIBUTING FARMLAND

SHULL TRACT

1970S
RANCH-STYLE
HOUSE (NON-CONTRIB.)

HAGERSTOWN

MD RTE 65
SHARPSBURG PIKE

MANFIELD AVE

MONDELL
ROAD

← OLD SHARPSBURG-HAGERSTOWN
PIKE

SHARPSBURG

HOUSE
C

WASH
HOUSE
C

SHEDS

WAGON
SHED
C

SMITH SHOP
SITE
C

TRACE
OF CONFEDERATE
AVE

EARLIER
HOUSE SITE
C

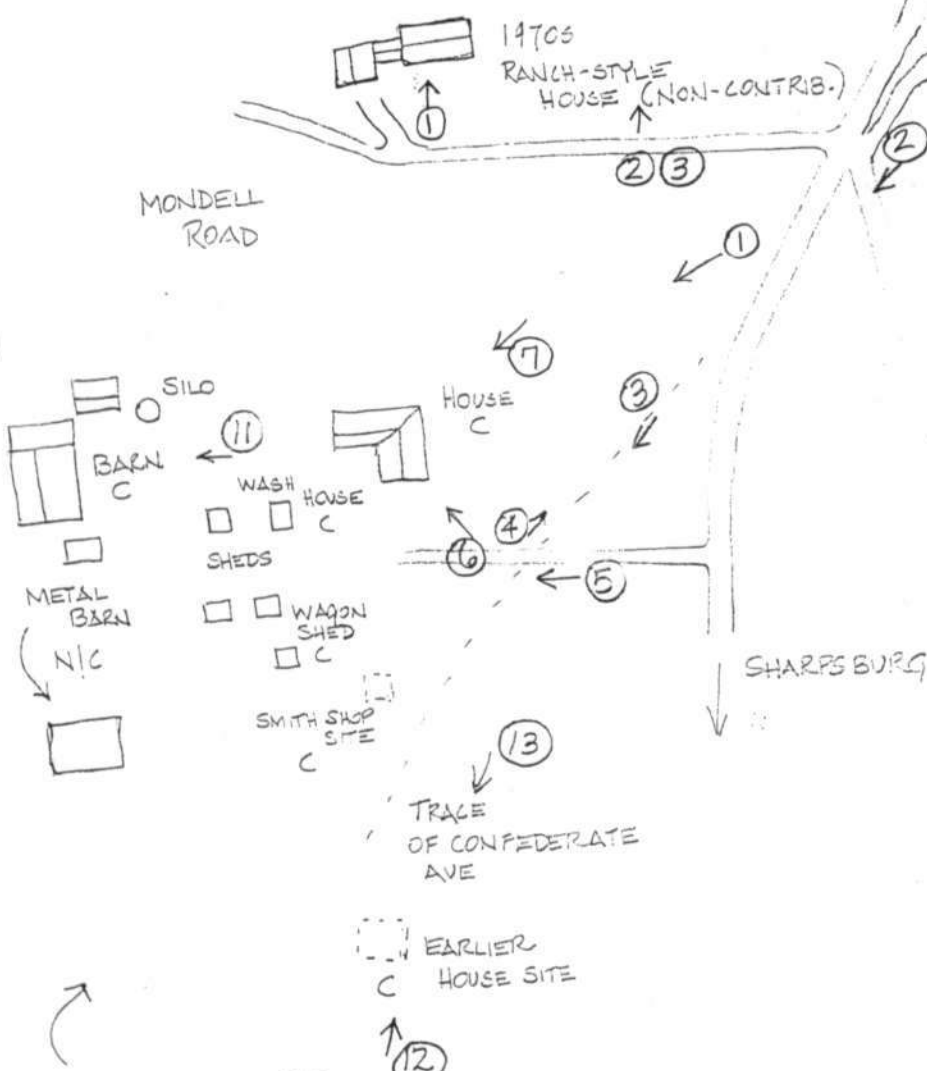
JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

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NOT TO SCALE

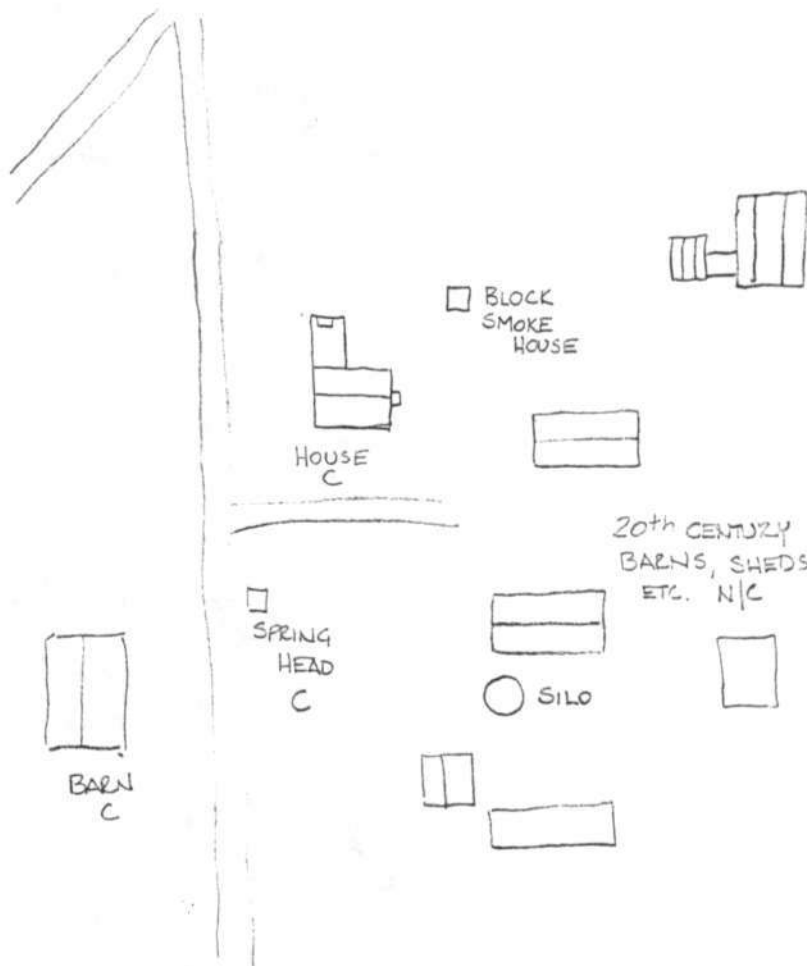
PHOTO VIEW AND NUMBER
EXTERIOR ONLY

①



WA-11-0477

MD ROUTE
65



DR. MILLER FARM
6143 DUNKER CHURCH RD
SHARPSBURG, MD

↑
N.

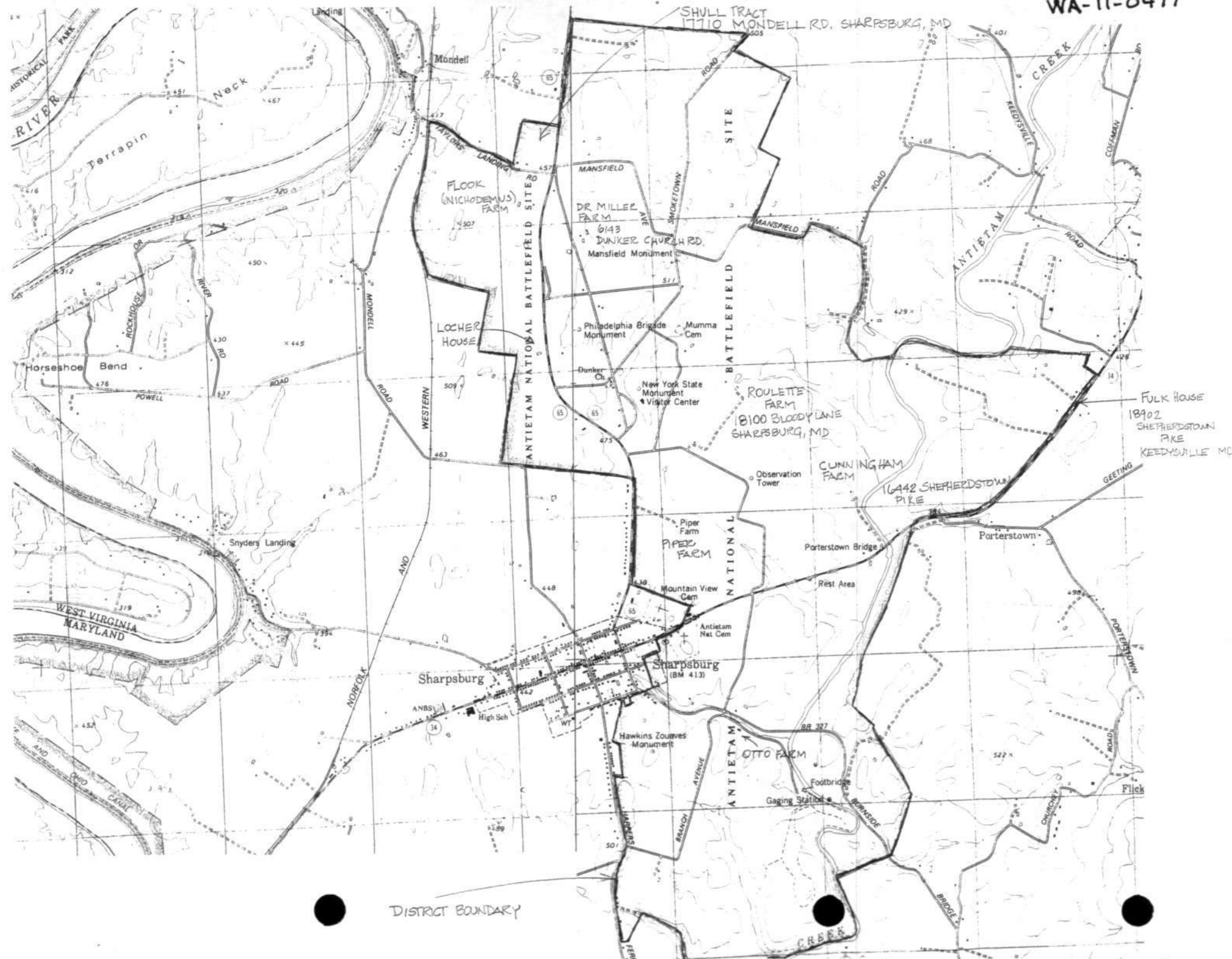
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WA-11-0477

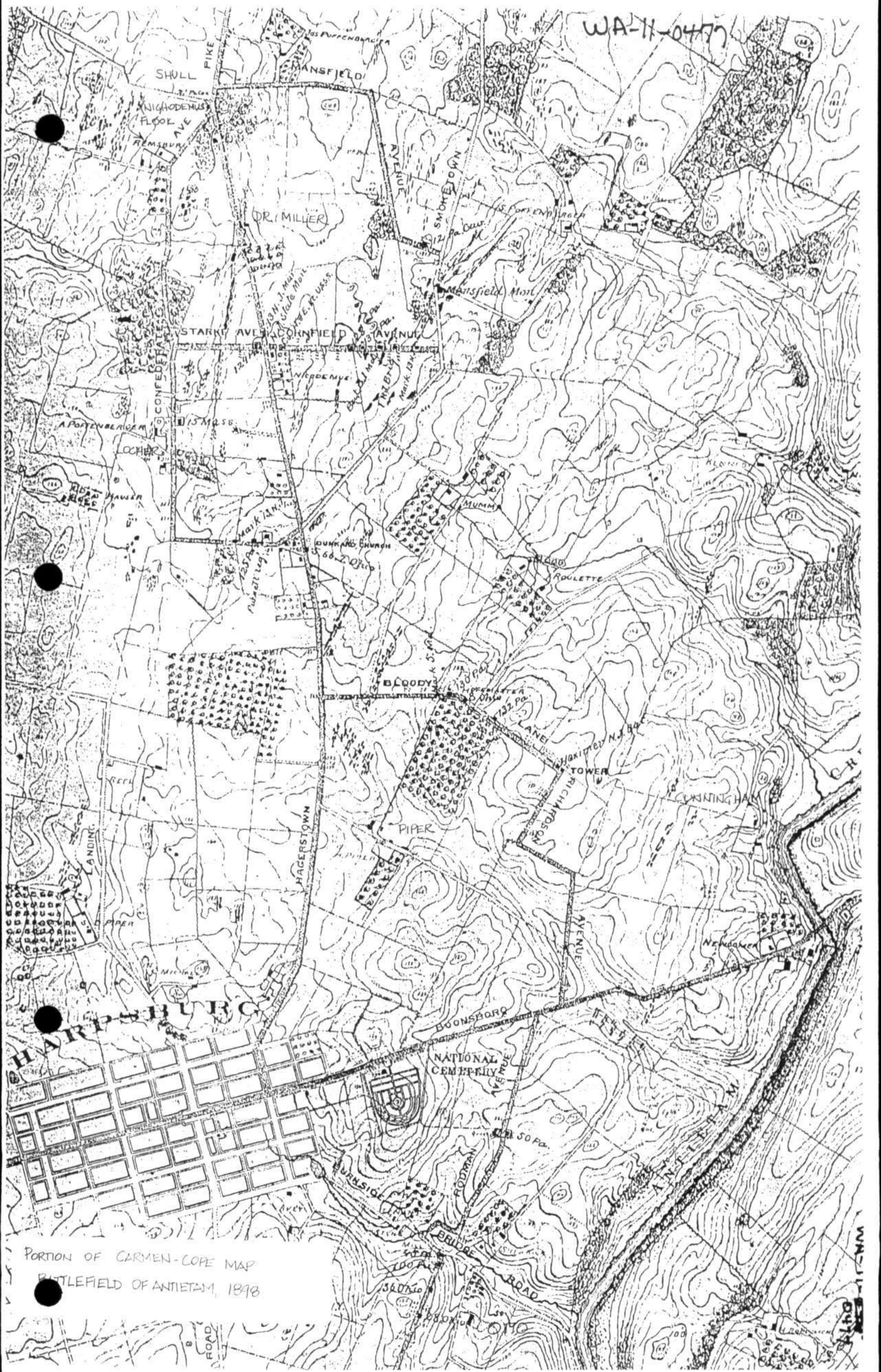
SHEPHERDSTOWN AND
KEEDYSVILLE QUADS

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
UPDATE

WA-11-0477

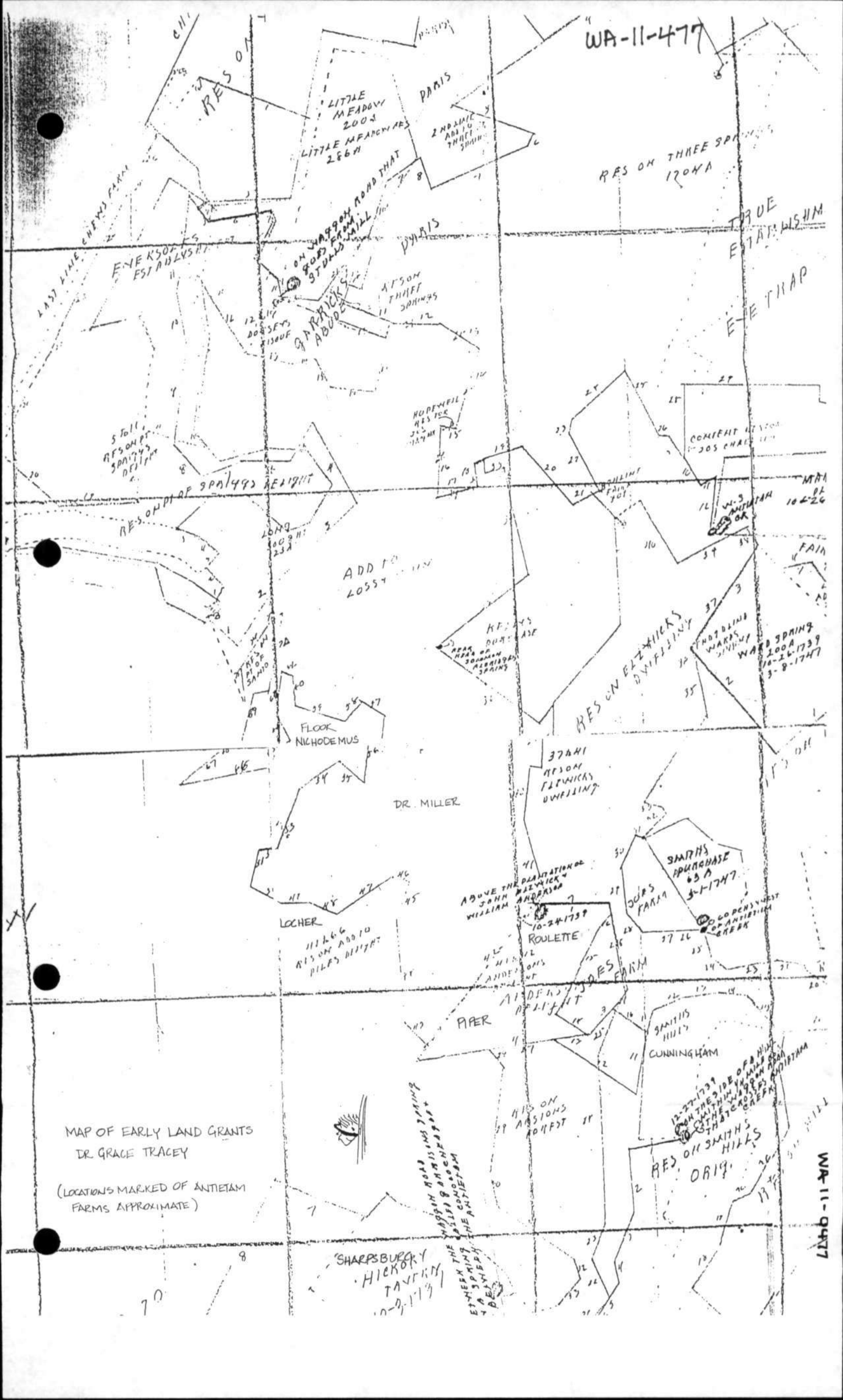


WA-11-0477



PORTION OF CARMEN-COPE MAP
BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM, 1862

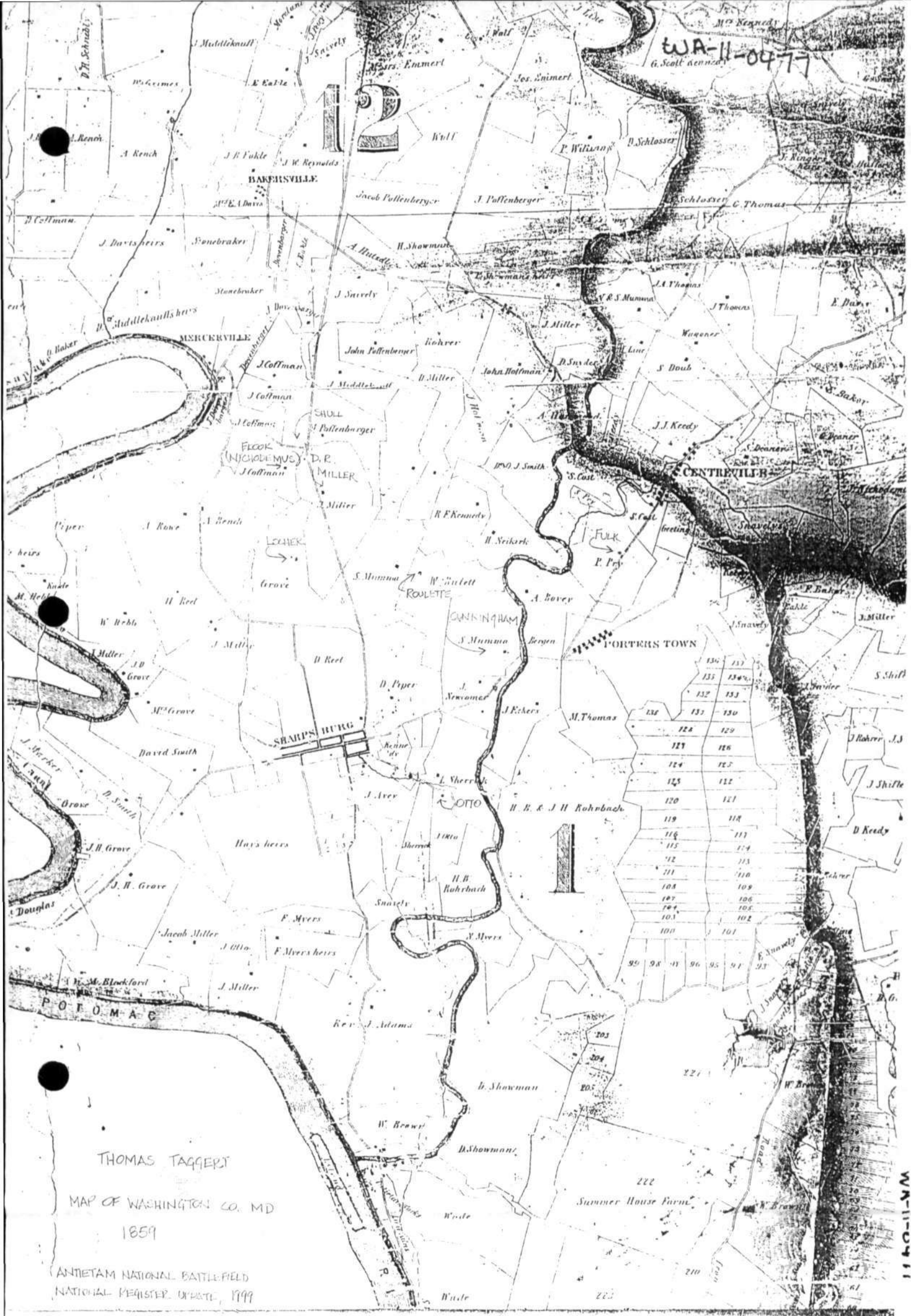
WA-11-477



MAP OF EARLY LAND GRANTS
DR. GRACE TRACEY

(LOCATIONS MARKED OF ANTIETAM
FARMS APPROXIMATE)

WA-11-9477



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICENATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES

FOR NPS USE ONLY

RECEIVED

DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC Antietam National Battlefield (includes three (3) detached sites:
Lee headquarters site, Sharpsburg; Reno Monument, Fox's Gap; and
AND/OR COMMON War Correspondents Memorial arch, Crampton's Gap)

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER

P. O. Box 158

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN

Sharpsburg

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Sixth

STATE

Maryland

VICINITY OF

CODE
24

COUNTY

Washington

CODE
043

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DISTRICT	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OCCUPIED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE <input type="checkbox"/> MUSEUM
<input type="checkbox"/> BUILDING(S)	<input type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE	<input type="checkbox"/> UNOCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCIAL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PARK
<input type="checkbox"/> STRUCTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOTH	<input type="checkbox"/> WORK IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATIONAL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE RESIDENCE
<input type="checkbox"/> SITE	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC ACQUISITION	<input type="checkbox"/> ACCESSIBLE	<input type="checkbox"/> ENTERTAINMENT <input type="checkbox"/> RELIGIOUS
<input type="checkbox"/> OBJECT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES: RESTRICTED	<input type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT <input type="checkbox"/> SCIENTIFIC
	<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: UNRESTRICTED	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRIAL <input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER

4 AGENCY

REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS: (If applicable)

National Capital Region/National Park Service

STREET & NUMBER

1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.

CITY, TOWN

Washington, D.C. 20242

VICINITY OF

STATE

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE,
REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.

Washington County Courthouse

STREET & NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

Hagerstown,

STATE
Maryland

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE

Partial representation in State Historic Sites Survey, Maryland Historic Trust

DATE

☐ FEDERAL ☒ STATE ☐ COUNTY ☐ LOCALDEPOSITORY FOR
SURVEY RECORDS

Maryland Historic Trust, 21 State Circle

CITY, TOWN

Annapolis,

STATE
Maryland

7 DESCRIPTION

WA II-477

CONDITION

☐ EXCELLENT
☒ GOOD
☐ FAIR

☐ DETERIORATED
☐ RUINS
☐ UNEXPOSED

CHECK ONE

☐ UNALTERED
☒ ALTERED

CHECK ONE

☒ ORIGINAL SITE
☐ MOVED DATE _____

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Antietam National Battlefield is located near the Maryland bank of the Potomac River and along Antietam Creek north and east of the village of Sharpsburg, Maryland. On September 17, 1862, the Confederates occupied the heights around Sharpsburg, and to them the battle was known as the Battle of Sharpsburg. The Union forces coming westward from Boonsboro crossed the Antietam in the early morning of September 17, 1862, at the Upper or Hitt's Bridge (presently outside the park), at Pry's Ford below the Philip Pry farm, and at the Middle Bridge, where Antietam Creek was crossed by the road from Boonsboro to Sharpsburg. The afternoon of the same day, after fierce fighting, the Federals crossed the Antietam at the Lower or Burnside Bridge and at Snavelly's Ford. To the Union forces, the battle was known as Antietam after the creek that meandered through this hilly portion of the Maryland countryside. North of Sharpsburg, Confederate lines of defense spread out along the Hagerstown Pike where early morning fighting of September 17 centered around the Poffenberger farm; the Miller farm, especially in the Miller Cornfield; the West Woods, the East Woods, the North Woods, and the Dunker Church. Midday the battle moved southeastward to the areas of the Piper, Mumma, and Roulette farms, and centered in the area of the Sunken Road, known to history as Bloody Lane. In the afternoon the fighting moved south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road first to the area around the Lower or Burnside Bridge, then up the heights across the Antietam through the Sherrick and Otto farms, until in the evening, the battle ended with the Federals almost at the edge of Sharpsburg at the present Hawkins Zouaves Monument near the Harpers Ferry-Sharpsburg Road. Present boundaries of the battlefield park include the area east of Antietam Creek up to the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road and the Philip Pry farm where Major General George B. McClellan, commander of the Union army, had his headquarters. The area of the battlefield also includes the Antietam National Cemetery at the eastern edge of Sharpsburg on the Boonsboro Road where 4,776 Federal soldiers are buried.

The battlefield remains generally as it was in September of 1862, occupied by farms and farmland which is still cultivated. The area was originally settled by German farmers who came down from Pennsylvania in the 18th and early 19th centuries. They built large brick, log, and fieldstone farmhouses and hugh barns with fieldstone lower stories for stock and hugh frame upper stories for storage of hay. Many original farm buildings from the period stand on the battlefield. To these are added the many state and regimental monuments erected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The visitor gets the feeling of unspoiled farmland, distant hilly vistas of Red Hill, Elk Ridge, and South Mountain, neat and well-kept historic farm buildings, and battlefield roads skirting many curious military monuments of decades ago. Several historic roads remain. The Hagerstown Pike and the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road are still extant though the modern Hagerstown highway has been diverted westward leaving part of the old Pike as a road in the park beginning near the Dunker Church and rejoining the modern Hagerstown highway near Mansfield Avenue. The Burnside Bridge Road out of Sharpsburg still exists, but it too has been diverted to a new bridge across the Antietam, leaving the old Burnside Bridge untraveled by vehicular traffic. The Smoketown Road, beginning at the Dunker Church, is historic as is the road that turns right from it through the Mumma farm buildings. The road that winds around through "Bloody Lane" is more or less original, the modern road diverting from

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INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE 2

the historic roadbed at the "Bloody Lane" itself. The Harpers Ferry Road out of Sharpsburg follows its original course. Mansfield Avenue, Cornfield Avenue, Rodman Avenue, Branch Avenue, and the road to the heights above the Burnside Bridge have all been built since the battle to facilitate the visitor's tour of the battlefield. The Piper Lane through the Piper farm is historic.

The historic farmhouses with their surrounding farm buildings are spread out across the battlefield. Architecturally, the farmhouses vary from 18th century clapboard to nondescript two-story fieldstone to a degree of style in the Greek Revival-period Sherrick House and Pry House, both of which possess pleasing architectural lines and distinctiveness.

The National Register boundary coincides with the authorized boundary of Antietam National Battlefield as of this writing. Not all lands figuring in the battle are included within this boundary; such lands outside the boundary may be the subject of a state nomination supplementing this documentation. The primary source for the dimensions of the historic battlefield is the map of the Battle of Antietam, prepared under the direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board, surveyed by Lieutenant Colonel E. B. Cope, Engineer, drawn by Charles H. Ourand, 1899. Published by the Authority of the Secretary of War under the direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, located in the National Archives.

Antietam National Battlefield will be described in two sectors bounded by the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike. The north sector of the battlefield was the scene of the first Federal attack on the morning of September 17, 1862, from Antietam Creek up to Miller's Cornfield and the Dunker Church. It was also the scene of continued fighting on that morning around the Piper Farm and Bloody Lane. It includes lands going northward on either side of the Hagerstown Pike from Sharpsburg, turning eastward at the Middlekauf farm and from there following a zigzag line to include the Samuel Poffenberger farm but not the M. Miller farm, and continuing down to the Antietam to include the old Kennedy farm but not the Neikirk farm. The boundary crosses the Antietam and follows the creek easterly until it turns southeast to encompass the Philip Pry house. From there the boundary follows the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike crossing the Middle Bridge to Sharpsburg. From Sharpsburg the boundary continues up the Hagerstown Pike turning west to include the farm of Hauser and Poffenberger, the West Woods and the Nicodemus Heights, following for a bit the modern Norfolk and Western Railroad. The boundary zigzags east to again join the Hagerstown Turnpike and continues north to turn west at the Middlekauf farm.

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An important area of the historic battlefield outside the National Battlefield boundary should be mentioned here. This is the area which, continuing up the Hagerstown Road, turns right to Smoketown, scene of the largest Union hospital, and continues to the Upper Bridge of the Antietam and thence around the Samuel Pry mill along the Little Antietam to the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. This larger area, the staging area for the Union army on the morning of September 17, 1862, contains the J. Poffenberger farm, the George Line farm where General Mansfield died, the Hoffman, Thomas, D. Smith, and Neikirk farms--all hospitals--and the historic Upper Bridge with its nearby Jacob Cost and Samuel Pry houses, again hospitals, and the Pry Ford over the Antietam where the Second Corps crossed the creek.

To the south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike is the south sector of the battlefield, scene of fighting on the afternoon of September 17, 1862, and of Burnside's famous attack across the Lower Bridge, thereafter known as Burnside Bridge. The south sector includes those areas south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike on either side of Antietam Creek down to Snavelly's Ford near Belinda Springs. It includes a strip on the east bank of the Antietam beginning east of the Middle Bridge traveling down the Antietam to encompass part of the old Henry Rohrbach farm and farm buildings, and then down the Antietam eastern bank to Snavelly's Ford at Belinda Springs, thence up Belinda Springs Road generally to the Harpers Ferry Road, thence up the Harpers Ferry Road to Sharpsburg, with a few deviations to account for irregularities of property lines, and finally out the Boonsboro Turnpike from Sharpsburg to the Middle Bridge.

The south sector also abuts on a historically significant area of land outside the National Battlefield which was important in the battle. South of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike from the Antietam Creek to the southeast is the historic vista going up to Red Hill where McClellan posted a Signal Corps observation team during the battle. The unspoiled vista to the top of Red Hill is a crucial part of the historic setting that can be seen from most sections of the battlefield.

Also, the area west of Sharpsburg, outside the National Battlefield, contains the path of Lee's retreat after the battle to Blackford's Ford across the Potomac, the Confederate Heights above Sharpsburg, now subdivided for a housing development, and the Stephen Grove house where Lincoln was photographed with McClellan after the battle. The village of Sharpsburg itself contains many remaining historic houses which stood during the battle, as does Keedysville to the east of the battlefield.

Three sites, detached from the National Battlefield but associated with it, are included in this documentation. They are the Lee headquarters site within the village of Sharpsburg, the Reno monument at Fox's Gap on South Mountain, and the War Correspondents Memorial arch at Crampton's Gap on South Mountain.

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INDIVIDUAL STRUCTURES

I. Northerly portion of the battlefield from north to south, north of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike.

A. East of the Hagerstown Pike

1. Middlekauf farm

The Middlekauf farm buildings are located at the end of a private lane east of Maryland Route 65 about two miles north of Sharpsburg. The buildings include a stone farm house, a brick and stone secondary dwelling, a stone springhouse, a frame barn, and several outbuildings. The house and barn were used as a field hospital after the Battle of Antietam. For many years it was believed that the springhouse was used by Clara Barton after the battle as a hospital. More recent research indicates that she used a springhouse at the Samuel Poffenberger farm. Records of the U.S. Sanitary Commission indicate that patients at the Middlekauf farm hospital were from Banks' and Hooker's commands and that the hospital served 100-300 patients with Dr. J. Hayward of Boston in charge. The farm buildings are privately owned.

a. Main farmhouse

The main house is a two-story, four-bay stone structure which faces west. It is built of coursed local limestone on ground which slopes to the east. A double porch extends along the front which is included under the main roof. The roof is covered with sheet metal and small brick chimneys which appear to have replaced the originals are located inside each gable end.

b. Secondary farmhouse

Just northwest of the main house is a stone and brick secondary house which faces south. The brick section is one story and three bays wide. It has Flemish bond at the west and south elevations and English bond on the north. An exterior brick chimney is located at the west gable end. The brick section appears to be the older part of the house. Attached to the east end of the brick dwelling is a two-bay, one-story stone addition. A massive stone chimney with a stone corbel is located inside the east end wall.

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c. Outbuildings

Northwest of the brick and stone dwelling is a series of small outbuildings. One is built of log, one of coursed stone, and the third is of frame construction.

d. Springhouse

Some distance south of the dwellings is a large stone springhouse. Built of native rock, it has a large exterior stone chimney at its west gable end. The center sections of the front and rear walls have been replaced with horizontal weatherboarding.

e. Barn

A large frame bank barn set on fieldstone foundations is located west of the main house. Facing south, it has a pair of projecting dormers above its forebay.

2. Joseph Poffenberger farm

Located adjacent to the North Woods just south of the Middlekauf farm and east of the Hagerstown Pike (Maryland 65), the Joseph Poffenberger farm served as the bivouac of the First Corps on the night of September 16. The farm also served as the Federal staging area for the first attack in the early morning of September 17. The buildings are situated on a bluff and face south.

a. Farmhouse

The house is a two-story, three-bay, L-shaped log structure clad with clapboard painted white. The front of the house has four windows, two to a story. A central front doorway opens to a one-story front porch which has a gingerbread railing. The frame rear ell extension has a typical double gallery. Architecturally, the house appears to be an early log structure.

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CONTINUATION SHEET

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b. Springhouse

The springhouse is partially log, clad with board and batten and partially stone. There is a stone chimney at the wooden end of the structure.

c. Barn

The barn is a frame bank barn with a stone foundation.

d. Smokehouse

The smokehouse is log.

3. Mansfield Avenue

Mansfield Avenue is a paved road going eastward from the Hagerstown Pike just below the Joseph Poffenberger farm through the North Woods and turning south to meet the historic Smoketown Road just north of the East Woods. Mansfield Avenue was built after the battle to facilitate the travel of visitors through the lines. It was named after Federal Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield. Turning right on the east end of Mansfield Avenue and going south just a little way down Smoketown Road there is a junction with another road which goes eastward toward the Samuel Poffenberger farm. Near this junction is a stone monument marking the spot where Mansfield fell. Nearby, encased in a base of coursed stone and concrete, is a cannon tube with muzzle facing downward which is also a marker of Mansfield's death. There are six such cannon on the battlefield marking the deaths of six generals who died at Antietam.

4. The North Woods

Just south of the Joseph Poffenberger farm on a ridge less than 200 yards south of the farmhouse stood a triangular strip of forest, now removed, which was known locally as the North Wood. From the shelter of that strip of forest Hooker's men moved to the attack on the early morning of September 17, which culminated in the struggle of the Miller Cornfield.

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5. Smoketown Road

This is an historic road which leads from the settlement of Smoketown south to join the Hagerstown Pike at the Dunker Church. Smoketown, the largest Federal hospital after the battle, lies outside the National Battlefield boundary as does the northern portion of the Smoketown Road. The northern portion of the road is unpaved as it was historically until it enters the Federal reservation and becomes paved.

6. Samuel Poffenberger house

On the Smoketown Road just to the south of where it joins Mansfield Avenue there is a road going eastward. This road leads to the Samuel Poffenberger farm. An impressive fieldstone house sited in a valley, the Samuel Poffenberger house was a hospital after the battle. Through a careful comparison with all other historic houses in the area, Antietam Park Historian James Atkinson concluded that the Samuel Poffenberger house was the site of Clara Barton's work at Antietam. ("The location of the Clara Barton Hospital at Antietam," Antietam NB, 1971.)

a. Farmhouse

The stone farmhouse is a two and one-half-story, five-bay building with a one and one-half-story stone wing built over a spring. Atkinson states that the description of this spring within the house closely conforms to the description by Clara Barton. Attached to the west end wall is a late 19th century two-story brick addition. The main house is constructed of coursed local limestone. Windows are placed at regular intervals in the front and east end walls and have massive framing with ovolo trim. The main entrance is located in the center bay of the front elevation. A four-panel Victorian door has replaced the original. A small one-bay entrance porch seems to be a replacement. Large stone chimneys with corbels at their tops are located inside the end walls. Architectural evidence supports an 1802-1804 construction date for the house. On several Civil War maps the property is improperly called "Dumbar's Mill."

b. Barn

Northwest of the house is a large stone bank barn. It was also used as a hospital after the battle.

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c. Outbuildings

There are several sheds and outbuildings. In front of the house is a deteriorated log outbuilding. Numerous limestone fences border the farm lanes and fields on the property.

7. D. R. Miller farm

The D. R. Miller farm lies stretched along on both sides of the Hagerstown Pike, a mile and one half north of Sharpsburg. The house and outbuildings, located just east of the Pike, were under fire during all the desperate fighting in the Cornfield. The house was the nearest hospital house to the battlefield. The old springhouse in the hollow south of the house furnished water to sufferers of both armies.

8. Cornfield Avenue

Cornfield Avenue is a post-bellum government road which goes from east to west from the Smoketown Road to the Hagerstown Pike and bisects D. P. Miller's cornfield, known as the Bloody Cornfield. On the morning of September 17, Hooker's forces met the Confederate forces in Miller's cornfield, and with much bloodshed the cornfield changed hands several times. Cornfield Avenue was built probably late in the 19th century to assist visitors in seeing the cornfield.

9. The Cornfield

Site of the most fierce fighting at Antietam on the early morning of September 17, the Cornfield was part of the D. H. Miller farm. Located south of the North Woods and between the East Woods and the West Woods, the Cornfield is now traversed by Cornfield Avenue. The line of battle swept back and forth across the field 15 times.

10. The East Woods

The East Woods is located east of the Bloody Cornfield on either side of the Smoketown Road. Only a small portion of the East Woods exists today. On the morning of September 17, Federal troops passed through the East Woods to encounter the Confederates in the Cornfield. Here, Union General Joseph Mansfield was fatally wounded as he led the XIII Corps into battle.

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11. Morrison farm

The Simon P. Morrison farm was located just south of Samuel Poffenberger's farm to the northeast of the East Wood. No farm buildings survive. Army Corps of Engineers maps indicate that this farm served as a Union hospital.

12. Dunker Church

The Dunker Church is a one and one half-story gabled brick building painted white, on a foundation of native limestone. The original church was built in 1852 by the Dunkers, a strict sect of German Baptist Brethren. Some of the bloodiest fighting raged around the church during the battle. Here "Stonewall" Jackson's troops stood against the attack of the Union First and Twelfth Corps. The original church was destroyed in 1921. The present structure, patterned after the older building, was reconstructed in 1962, using some materials from the original. The brick is laid in common bond and painted white as it was at the time of the battle. There is no basement, only a crawl space with vents, and a small loft or attic above the main floor. It is roughly square in plan, measuring 35½ feet by 34½ feet, with a central brick chimney at the peak of the wood shingled roof. The east and south elevations have a central door with double-hung sash windows on either side. The south side also has two small windows in the gable. The west and north sides have two double-hung sash windows only. The door sills are stone. The doors are paneled and the windows have paneled shutters. The only ornament on the plain building is a small cornice made by corbelling out the three uppermost brick courses. The interior is plain whitewashed plaster with unpainted woodwork and benches. These benches are copied from one original example salvaged after the storm of 1921, and are according to the original plan. The church is located on the old Hagerstown Road across from the modern visitor center.

13. Kennedy farm

The Kennedy farmhouse is located southeast of the East Woods toward Antietam Creek. It was used as a hospital after the battle, and soldiers' names are carved on the rocks around the house. It is a two-story four-bay structure and appears to have been built in two parts. One section has small windows in relation to wall area which could suggest an early building date. Nearby is the old Neikirk house which is outside the National Battlefield boundary.

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14. Mumma farm

a. House

The Mumma house is located south along the Smoketown Road northeast of the visitor center. The original Mumma house was burned during the battle and the present structure was rebuilt the next year. The house was constructed in two sections, a plain brick part and a more ornate frame part, both on a stone foundation. The second story windows on the north side have different lintel levels, those on the brick section being higher. The frame section has a bracketed cornice. The same motif is repeated around the flat-roofed entrance porch on the east or main facade which has a lattice balustrade. The structure is joined into a unit by its tin plate hipped roof and one-story veranda along the north porch side. This porch is supported by slender colonnettes. The brick is also whitewashed to blend with the white frame section. The main block measures about 41 by 36 feet. The house is slightly "L" in shape. The frame section is deeper than the original brick block. On the back or south side a one-story kitchen has been added, measuring about 15 feet square with its own exterior chimney. Because of the slightly "L" shape, the hip roof becomes a gable in the rear over each section. There are three brick chimneys, one at each angle of the hip over the frame section and one at the brick end, which is whitewashed.

b. Springhouse

The springhouse is the only building which survived the fire that destroyed all Mumma buildings during the Battle of Antietam. It is constructed of stone and measures 16' 3" by 24' 3". It has a main floor and attic level. Immediately adjacent at the north end is the spring in a sink in the ground enclosed in masonry walls and roofed with a brick vault. The water flows into the springhouse, channeled along the inside of the north and west walls. From there it is carried underground to a draw south of the building. There is a fireplace located at the south end which has a brick capped masonry exterior chimney. Access to the second floor is by climbing over the roof of the spring enclosure. The west wall has one window opening at the first level and a gable window in the south wall for the second level. There are two adjacent doorways in the east wall. The first floor is divided into two rooms and the walls are plaster and whitewashed, with exposed ceiling joists. The rafters are exposed on the second level. The gable roof is covered by wooden shingles. The structure is located east of the main house.

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c. Barn

The Mumma barn is a typical bank barn with the first story stable level of stone and the upper hayloft of frame with vertical boarding. It is covered by a tin plate gable roof. There is a large lean-to shed on the south end and a smaller one on the north. This barn was probably built as part of the postwar complex when the burned-out farm was reconstructed.

d. Cemetery and Cemetery Wall

The Mumma cemetery, which dates back at least to 1790 when the pre-Civil War house and barn were built, is located to the northwest of the house. Only the eastern half or section of the plot contains burials. It measures about 27,550 square feet. The headstones are of various shapes and sizes, some illegible, some of early dates, and some as late as the 1960s. Some of the older stones are given interest by their ornament and eulogies. The cemetery is enclosed by about 665 feet of stone wall in a roughly square shape. The wall is of local fieldstone laid in random courses with mortar, and averages about four feet high. An iron gate on the southeast provides the only entrance. The cemetery is northwest of the Mumma farm.

e. Mumma Lane

A remnant of the original Mumma farm road, 600 feet long, is still visible, leading south out of the farm. It is cut off by the modern tour road which curves by the farm and joins the original roadbed. The road is a partially grassy area, not used as a road today.

15. The Roulette farm

The Roulette farm is to the south and east of the Mumma farm. The orchard and the cornfield between the Roulette house and the Sunken Road called Bloody Lane were scenes of most desperate fighting in the late afternoon of September 17, 1862. Men of the Second Corps tramped through the fields on the way to Bloody Lane. The buildings themselves have importance as examples of the area's early architecture.

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a. Farmhouse

At least part of the house may have been built during the late 18th century. It is a long, narrow, two-part log structure covered with German and aluminum siding. The more southerly part of the house is a one-story, four-bay structure with small six-over-six windows. A deep overhanging porch extends along the front elevation. A large exterior chimney topped with brick is against the south end wall. The remaining five bays are attached to the north end wall of the first section and appear to be an addition. Part of the front wall is recessed. One section of the house has an inside end chimney of brick and several small gable-roofed dormers.

b. Barn

A large frame bank barn typical of the region was used to treat wounded from the 132nd Pennsylvania. It and the house were hospitals after the battle.

c. Springhouse

A fieldstone springhouse and several outbuildings are present.

16. Clipp farm

According to Army Corps of Engineers maps, there was a Clipp farm or house between Roulette's and Bloody Lane. No structures survive.

17. Bloody Lane

Today "Bloody Lane" is a depression, about 500 yards long, between grassy slopes, partially paved with gravel and an asphalt access to the Roulette farm. It was known as the Sunken Road prior to the Civil War because of the depression caused by continuous use and erosion. The road bed was worn down to depths ranging from one to four feet, making it an important line of Confederate defense during the battle and a slaughter trench when Confederates were caught in the lane by Federal crossfire. Since the time of the battle, the north fenceline and road shoulder have continued to erode. The other shoulder has been disturbed by two different tour routes parallel and adjacent to the lane. The current bank along the new road is higher

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than that pictured along the earlier road. The lane is lined with monuments and a modern re-creation of an old split rail fence. "Bloody Lane" is located on the north of the Piper fields and extends to the Observation Tower.

18. Piper farm

a. Farmhouse

The Piper house, off the Hagerstown Road south of "Bloody Lane," is a typical two-story frame, gable-roofed, L-shaped structure with a foundation of random course fieldstone. The main section (west) about 40 by 15 feet was built prior to the Civil War. There is a shed-roofed porch along the west at the first story and also along the north and south faces of the wing. The first floor of the wing (15 by 15 feet) was added around 1898, and the second story of the wing was added in 1912. It has a tin plate roof. Three small brick chimneys protrude from the roof, two from the kitchen wing and one from the original section. In 1974 the porch and porch foundation were rebuilt and minor repairs were done to the chimney. The nine-room interior is in poor condition.

b. Cavehouse (Icehouse)

The Cavehouse, measuring about 10 by 15 feet, was build in the early 1800s of random course fieldstone. It was built with two rooms in a type of split-level arrangement into the earthen bank near the south end of the farmhouse. It has a gable roof. The west room, entered from the west end which protrudes from the hill, was used for produce storage. The east room, which was used for ice storage, is located in the section which goes into the hill, and is entered from its own door on the south-east side. The building, which was in almost ruinous condition, was reconstructed by local labor in 1975. The original stones were used. Care was taken to match the mortar in color and texture to that of the slave house. The cavehouse is located southeast of the Piper house.

c. Slave house

The building on the Piper farm called the slave quarters is a stone masonry building with a wood shingled gable roof measuring about 33½ feet by 14 feet. This structure grew from a smaller building, about 25 by 14 feet. The original section is thought to be the first dwelling on the farm site, dating to about 1740. Additions,

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circa 1880, raised the roof by adding a log wall over the stone section to provide an additional floor. At this time, the north gable wall was taken down and rebuilt to make the building eight feet longer. The exterior stone walls are faced rubble, infilled with clay and small stones. The log portion, dressed on the exterior, is three logs high set back to accommodate the furring strips to permit the use of beveled-edge siding boards. After 1900, drop siding replaced the earlier which was put back during the restoration. There is a large shallow stone fireplace at the north end with a brick chimney outside. The first floor is divided into two rooms by a board partition and there is a stair in the north room to the floor above. Each lower room has a door to the outside on the east but no connecting door between them. There is one window on the east and three on the west, first floor level, and two gable windows on the north and one on the south gable. The interior rooms are whitewashed plaster. The structure was restored about 1968. This included replacing a tin roof with wooden shingles, reconstructing windows, doors and their frames, and installing period style siding. The new chimney was also redone with period type brick using a typical local cap treatment. The slave house is located west of the Piper house, south of Piper Lane,

d. Smokehouse

The smokehouse is a small, nearly 12½-foot-square frame and log building on a stone foundation, built in the mid-1800s. The walls are now covered in weatherboard and the gabled roof is sheet tin. There are no windows in the structure.

e. Barn

The large stone and frame bank barn is original to the farm. The southern end, built in 1820, is 44 feet wide and 84 feet long. This section is constructed with a heavy, hewn timber frame resting on one-story stone walls. The upper section has a tightly boarded floor. The exterior upper level is covered by unpainted, wide boards, fastened vertically to the frame with wrought nails. The west portion of the stone wall has two narrow ventilating slits built into the masonry. The east wall beneath the overhanging loft has seven double "Dutch" doors and five windows. A wooden winch hoist is now partially covered by a lean-to used as a peach packing plant in the 1890s. In 1914, a wooden addition was added making the barn 144 by 44 feet. The original wood shingle roof

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was replaced by tin plate. At this time the five large, picturesque roof ventilators were added. Two large dormer-type double doors were cut into the roof at the gutter line at this time. In 1974, bad timbers and boards were replaced and the exterior was whitewashed. The barn is located on the north side of Piper Lane.

f. Piper Lane

The original farm lane, about 3000 feet long, is entered off Hagerstown Road. It is lined with farm buildings and leads to the Piper farmhouse. Behind the house the road is less used and becomes very rocky and rutted until it fades out to little more than a line of trees at Richardson Avenue.

19. Observation Tower

The observation tower, erected in 1896 by the War Department, is constructed of native limestone. It is 15 feet square and about 75 feet tall. It has an arched entranceway and two slit windows on the south elevation. The tower is open on all four sides at the observation deck above a waist-high wall and is topped by a red tile hipped roof which rests on corner piers at the deck level. The only ornament on the sheer walls are three stone courses, corbelled out to form a band about five feet below the parapet of the observation deck. The deck is reached by an iron stairway which rises on the interior. The tower is located at the juncture of Bloody Lane and Richardson Avenue.

20. Richardson Avenue

Richardson Avenue runs from the Hagerstown Turnpike, parallels Bloody Lane to the Observation Tower, and making a zigzag ends at the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. Named for General Israel Richardson, the hero of "Bloody Lane," who was wounded there in the battle and died at the Pry house, November 3, 1862, Richardson Avenue is more or less historic. The modern park road follows the old farm road making a diversion at Bloody Lane where the old roadbed was and still can be seen.

21. Keplinger/Newcomer house

Old Army Corps of Engineers maps indicate a house at the corner of Richardson Avenue and the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. Nothing remains visible there today.

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22. Newcomer house - Mount Pleasant - Christian Orndorff's mill

Situated near the west bank of Antietam Creek where the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike crosses over a modern highway bridge, are the remains of the historic Christian Orndorff mill, known as Newcomer Mill during the Civil War. Nothing is left of the mill buildings themselves; what remains is a circa 1800 two-story clapboard-covered log dwelling traditionally called Mount Pleasant. The structure is a three-bay dwelling set on very low stone foundations. A two-story, four-bay ell, also of log, extends to the rear, or north. The entire structure is covered with beaded weatherboard displaying no decorative trim. A one-story porch supported by chamfered square posts extends along the front elevation. Extending along the entire east wall of the ell is a double porch framed under the main roof span. The roof of the main section is steeply pitched with high brick chimneys extending from inside each gable end and at the juncture of the two sections. Immediately behind the house is a two-story stone and brick kitchen with a bake oven. South of Route 34 (the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike) is a large frame bank barn set on stone foundations.

Mount Pleasant was in a prominent position at the Middle Bridge in the Battle of Antietam. The bridge and road past Mount Pleasant were strategic in the movement of troops. There are several Alexander Gardner photographs of the Middle Bridge with the Orndorff/Newcomer buildings in the background.

23. Log farmhouse up Antietam Creek from the Middle Bridge

This house, of log construction, is clad with German siding. It appears to have received a new roof. The house is a long, narrow two-story, four-bay structure with nine-over-six windows at the first-story level and six-over-six windows at the second story. The exterior surface of the building shows work associated with the late 19th or early 20th century. However, the exterior chimney and the nine-over-six windows suggest that the house may have been standing for some time before the Civil War. More research is needed to date the house. Also present is a large frame bank barn with a fieldstone fence in front of it. In From Millwheel to Plowshare by Drake Orndorff on page 24 a log structure is mentioned in this location with the date given as eighteenth century construction.

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B. West of the Hagerstown Pike

1. Nicodemus Heights

This small hill directly west of the Hagerstown Pike near the Miller farm was occupied by Confederate cavalry under J.E.B. Stuart early in the morning of September 17. As the Federal troops under Hooker come out of the North Woods they were pounded by artillery on Nicodemus Heights as the Confederate infantry in the cornfield charged. Nicodemus Heights proved to be the key position to the early morning phase of the battle, where the commanding position of Stuart's artillery prevented Doubleday from taking the high ground around the Dunker Church.

2. Confederate Avenue - Hagerstown Pike Bypass

Confederate Avenue existed since the late 1890's as a government battlefield road stretching along the Confederate lines from Nicodemus Heights to the Dunker Church. The road left the Hagerstown Pike near the latter's juncture with Starke Avenue, and continuing south until turning west at a right angle to converge again on the Hagerstown Pike at the Dunker Church. In recent years, a new Hagerstown Pike (Route 65) was built to bypass the battlefield. The new bypass left the old pike below the Dunker Church and continued up the old route of Confederate Avenue back to the Old Hagerstown Pike. Thus, Confederate Avenue became the new bypass. The portion of the old Hagerstown Pike through the battlefield in front of the Dunker Church and north to Mansfield Avenue juncture still exists.

3. West Woods

West of the Hagerstown Pike and above the Dunker Church, the West Woods was the scene of some of the heaviest fighting during the morning of the 17th and during the whole war. Union General John Sedgwick's division lost more than 2,200 men in less than one-half hour in an ill-fated charge into these woods against Jackson's troops.

4. Starke Avenue

Starke Avenue is a government battlefield road. It is actually an extension of Cornfield Avenue, separated by the old Hagerstown Pike and going westward until it meets the Hagerstown Pike bypass. It originally joined the old

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Confederate Avenue, now superseded by the bypass. Starke Avenue is named for Confederate General William F. Starke of Jackson's Corps who was mortally wounded a few hundred yards south.

5. Alfred Poffenberger farm

The old Alfred Poffenberger farm was on the western edge of the West Woods just to the west of the Hagerstown bypass. Heavy fighting occurred in the area.

C. East of Antietam Creek

1. The Middle Bridge

Spanning Antietam Creek at the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike was a three-arched stone bridge, built by Silas Harry in 1824. Known as the Orndorff or Middle Bridge after the Battle of Antietam, it was destroyed by high water in the late 19th century. The bridge was strategic in the movement of troops. There are several Alexander Gardner photographs of the bridge.

2. Philip Pry farm

a. Pry house

The Philip Pry house was built in 1844 by Philip Pry and his brother Samuel Pry on high ground west of Keedysville, Maryland. Because of its panoramic view of almost the entire Antietam Valley around Sharpsburg, General George B. McClellan used the Pry house for his headquarters during the Battle of Antietam. The house is a two-story L-shaped brick structure on a stone foundation. The main block of the house has a steeply pitched roof with two single chimneys at the ridge. The upper story has five large double-hung sash windows with shutters which extend with their lintels from the roof eave to the porch roof. The first story has a central double entrance door flanked by two windows on each side. In 1976 a fire partially damaged the house burning off a late-19th-century porch stretched across the front of the house. During a 1977-78 restoration of the house to its Civil War appearance, the small earlier Greek Revival porch was rebuilt and put back on the house. The east end of

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the house has two windows to each story. The ell, which is a continuation of the west wall, has a two-story porch on the east side with simple supports and a second story balustrade. There are entrances off this porch on each floor. The two main doors on the first story have three-light transoms. This ell section has a gable roof with two small windows in the north gable end. The simple interior housed wounded soldiers after the battle. General Israel B. Richardson, Union hero of Bloody Lane, died there on November 3, 1862.

b. Barn

This barn, the original one on the property, is located on the north of the house. Like many barns in the area, it is stone on the first level. Vertical boarding above overhangs the stone level on the south. The barn measures about 60 by 40 feet with a shed addition on the eastern end. The tin plated roof has two ventilators along the ridge. During the battle, the barn served as a hospital.

c. Smokehouse or Cookhouse

The Pry smokehouse is now a brick and fieldstone ruin with only the fireplace wall left partially standing. The brickwork and stone foundations of this structure seem to be as old as the house, but strangely enough, this building does not appear in the Alexander Gardner photograph of the Pry House taken during the Battle of Antietam. Consequently, more research is needed to determine the age of the smokehouse. It is located at the southwest corner of the Pry house.

d. Cavehouse

The cave or springhouse is build into the side of a hill to the east of the house, faced with local fieldstone. Alterations and repairs have been made over the years but the basic structure with random limestone masonry of slabs and large rocks remains in relatively unchanged condition. The interior, now filled with debris, is about 6 feet wide, 8 feet long, and 7 feet high. The opening into the hill has an irregularly-formed wall surrounding it and acts as a retaining wall against the hill.

e. Pry Lane

This historic lane goes from the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike to the Pry house. It remains essentially as it did when the property served as McClellan's headquarters. A double row of trees was planted at one time, and several remain. The lane was shortened about 100 feet when the state highway was widened and straightened in the late 1950's or early 1960's.

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f. Springhouse

The ruins of the springhouse are located slightly to the southwest of the front of the house just down the hill. The front stone archway and some buried walls in the hillside are all that is left of the historic springhouse which appeared in the artist sketch of the Pry house published in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. At this writing, the archway is in need of stabilization. This springhouse is mentioned in The Twenty-Seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion 1861-65, First Division 12th and 20th Corps by Edmund Randolph Brown a Member of Company C, p. 235, U.S. Army Military History Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. "Sometimes towards evening..went to bivouac above the Pry house, where in the meantime, McClellan had established his headquarters. ...While we were here we used water from the spring used by the Pry house. The picture of this house, with its brick spring house, a short distance down the hill, and rather in front of the house, is familiar to the readers of Harper's Weekly, Harper's History of the Rebellion, the Century Magazine, and other publications."

3. Toll house

This small log house is a three-bay, one-and-one-half-story German-sided structure. Built adjacent to the old alignment of the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike, it served as a toll house on this road during the nineteenth century.

II. Southerly Part of the Battlefield South of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike

1. Newcomer mill

Nothing remains of the old Newcomer mill which was located just southwest of the Middle Bridge over the Antietam. However, there is still standing a large bank barn with fieldstone foundations which was part of the Newcomer complex and appears in the Alexander Gardner photographs of the Middle Bridge taken shortly after the battle. Another stone structure existed on the southeast side which may have been part of the mill operation.

2. Rodman Avenue

Rodman Avenue runs south from the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike, crossing over the old Burnside Bridge Road at a modern overpass near the Sherrick House where at a right angle it becomes Branch Avenue. Historic maps indicate that the modern government road follows the course of an old farm

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road present during the battle. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman's command forded the Antietam at Snively's Ford and were pushing toward Sharpsburg until they were met by A. P. Hill's fresh troops from Harpers Ferry. Rodman himself was shot and later died at the nearby Henry Rohrbach house.

3. Antietam National Cemetery

Antietam National Cemetery was first established by the State of Maryland by an act in 1865, and it was completed in 1867. Contributions which totaled about \$70,000 from 18 Union states completed the cemetery. There are 4,776 Union graves from the Maryland campaign of 1862. Administration was transferred to the War Department for the period of 1877 to 1933, when it came to the Park Service. The cemetery is located in a trapezoidal section of land containing about 11½ acres. The paths were laid out to form an amphitheater with the large Soldiers Monument in the center. The lodge house, its carriage house, and a rostrum are from the early years of operation (to 1879). A later house was added for the superintendent of the park about 1927 and is unhistoric to the park and cemetery. The cemetery is located along Maryland Route 34 (just east of the intersection with Route 65) on the eastern edge of Sharpsburg.

a. Lodge house

The small lodge house on the cemetery grounds was built in 1867. It is about 20 by 30 feet. It is constructed of limestone, laid in random ashlar courses in a gothic villa style. A battlemented tower with a small round window is attached to the north side of the structure. The house itself is a short-armed "L" in plan. The main entrance is on the east gabled end, sheltered by a little gothic-inspired wooden porch. The roof is hipped on the west and over the short south wing. Little peaked roof dormers are placed in the roof to give light to the upper story. The rear or northwest entrance has a small gabled gothic hood. The windows are framed in shallow segmental arches which form a contrasting decorative pattern in the stonework. The gable or east end has a small finial-type ornament at each side at the eave line. The lodge house was originally designed as a residence for the superintendent of the cemetery and as a visitor contact station and administrative offices. It remained unchanged until the late 1920s when public rest-rooms were installed. In 1970 these were rearranged to provide additional office space. The exterior remains little altered. The lodge house is located right inside the front gate of the cemetery.

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b. Carriage house

The cemetery carriage house, now used as a garage, is a small brick gable-roofed structure with an attic level under the roof. A large segmental-arched opening is located in the east side, flanked by a small window. A large square opening, used today for the entrance, is in the south end with a window in the gable above. The carriage house is located within the cemetery walls.

c. Cemetery rostrum

The rostrum was constructed in 1879 according to a Standard Army Quartermaster's plan issued in November 1878. It consists of a platform formed by brick walls, about 5½ feet high. The brickwork is laid with an indented panel effect. The platform is filled with earth and partially paved with concrete. At each end of the platform is a stone stairway with an iron railing. Surmounting the platform are three rows of four piers, 17½ inches square and 12 feet high. The piers support an open trellis roof, originally designed for vines. An iron railing surrounds the platform connecting each pier. Below the railing between the piers are planter boxes. Jonathan Late was the contractor for the rostrum.

d. U.S. Soldiers Memorial

The U.S. Soldiers Memorial is a granite figure of a private Union soldier at parade rest with the cape of his overcoat thrown back from his left shoulder. The statue is 21½ feet tall and rests on a granite pedestal 25 feet high. The statue was carved in the Rhode Island Granite Works at Westerly, Rhode Island, out of granite also called Westerly. A Mr. Conrad modeled the figure and it was carved by J. W. Pollette. Crossed swords, a laurel wreath, draped flags, a drum, cartridge box and canteen are grouped in a high relief cartouche on the front of the base. The statue was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The foundation was not completed until 1879. The figure was later installed in 1880.

e. Cemetery wall - fence

The Antietam National Cemetery is enclosed by a random ashlar limestone wall with ornamental iron fencing along Route 34. The wall has a uniform height of 5 feet on the inside and varies from 10 to 15 feet on the

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outside. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick throughout. The iron fence is about 6 feet high, including the low limestone base. There is an elaborate gateway entrance of four posts topped with urns and decorated with gothic strapwork. The walls were repaired and repointed by the WPA in 1939.

f. Tombstones

The tombstones in Antietam National Cemetery are of two basic types. Those for the unknown dead from the Maryland Campaign are six inches high and about six inches square. There are 1,836 of these, all Union. The stones for the known dead of the 1862 campaign, also all Union, and for subsequent burials are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. There are 2,940 from the Civil War and 200 graves from later wars.

4. Sherrick house

The Sherrick house, circa 1830, retains its Civil War exterior appearance. No modern plumbing had been added although the house has been wired for electricity. The house has two cellars. A spring still flows through a cut stone channel in the sub-cellar. The upper cellar contains a summer kitchen and cool food storage space. Both cellars are whitewashed stone on the south--their only exterior exposure. Rising above the cellar is a two-story red brick house with a wood shingled hipped roof. The west wall of this rectangular house is laid in Flemish bond and the other three are common bond. The hipped roof is broken by two brick chimneys on the south edge center and two on the north which rise higher in the roof. The main entrance is located on the west facade. It has a wood, two-columned Doric portico with a balustrade around the flat deck. There is a veranda along the main floor on the south, supported on piers at the cellar level over the spring, which gives the effect of a two-story portico. There is an entrance on the south veranda at the main level (second story on the south) and another one on the east. The interior is more elaborate than the other farmhouses. One of the fireplaces is marbleized, there are chair rails in most of the rooms, and the stairs in the main hall are ornamented with a wave molding. The building has great integrity. There is some evidence that all the interior rooms have their original paint. The Sherrick house is located on the northeast corner of Branch Avenue and Burnside Bridge Road.

The Sherrick smokehouse is a brick $1\frac{1}{2}$ -story building measuring 14'5" by 14'7". The foundation walls are whitewashed stone. Diamond patterns in the brick gables ventilate the attic space in addition to a small attic window located over the exterior door in the west. The first floor has a window in each side wall and a large fireplace in the rear (east) wall.

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The roof is gabled with wood shingles. The floor is modern wood laid over an earlier wood floor and joists. A winding, enclosed stair in the corner left of the entrance leads to the attic. The ceiling of the first floor is post period beaded boards and the attic ceiling is exposed. The smoke-house is located southeast of the Sherrick house.

5. Otto house

The Otto house is on a hill directly across from the Sherrick house on the Burnside Bridge Road. This house is a large two-story, eight-bay structure. It would appear to be a log structure which has been sheathed with asbestos siding. When Rodman's command was repelled by A. P. Hill, their line fell back to the Otto farm area. Both the Otto and Sherrick house were Union hospitals after the battle.

6. Stone Mill

This complex of buildings includes a two-story, four-bay stone house with two stone extensions and a stone grist mill building. Both buildings are constructed of coursed native limestone and have openings with wide wooden frames with ovolo trim. Flat arches of finely dressed stones are present above the doors and windows. The mill has a circular opening in each gable and a large brick chimney. A small stone springhouse is also on the property. The house originally had a two-story porch across its front elevation. The house and mill appear to be contemporaneous and exhibit exterior features and masonry work typical of the circa-1800 period.

The Stone Mill is located on the old Burnside Bridge Road on the Sharpsburg side of the Sherrick house and Otto house. Up the ravine past these houses the brigades of Willcox's division advanced against the Confederate brigades of Jenkins and Garnett which held the high ground near the Stone Mill and the southerly slope of what is now the National Cemetery. After A. P. Hill drove Rodman from his advanced position on the Union left, Willcox's position near the Stone Mill was turned, and his lines withdrew back to the hills at the Otto house.

7. Branch Avenue

Branch Avenue is a government road facilitating park visitation. It begins as a continuation of Rodman Avenue at the overpass bridge where the former crosses the Burnside Bridge Road, and making a right to the east, it joins the Harpers Ferry Road. The road is named for Brigadier General L. O'Brien Branch of A. P. Hill's division who was killed in the afternoon of September 17.

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8. Burnside Bridge Road

Burnside Bridge Road is an historic road originally going southeast from the village of Sharpsburg and crossing the Antietam at the Burnside Bridge, passing the Stone Mill, the Sherrick house, and the Otto house. In recent years the road has been diverted to cross the Antietam by a modern concrete bridge a little to the north, leaving the historic Burnside Bridge surrounded by park land and untraveled by vehicular traffic.

9. Burnside Bridge

The Burnside Bridge, originally known as Rohrback's or Lower Bridge, was built in 1836. It is constructed of faced rubble masonry of local blue fieldstone. Three elliptical arch spans are supported by the abutments and two six-foot-wide piers rising from the stream bed. The central span is 35½ feet between the piers and the spans on either side measure 30 feet each. The piers are rounded out beyond the spandrel and arch faces from the springline of the arches to their bases. This was done to ease floating debris past the piers. These are terminated with stone laid to form conical caps which meld with the spandrel faces. The voussoirs of the elliptical arches are of common height and keystones were not used. The width of the road bed is 13'4" and the ends are splayed outward to facilitate entrance at the sharp road angle. The parapets are about 3½ feet high with wooden coping to shed rain into the stream. The present coping is a restoration, replacing concrete additions. Monuments were at one time placed on the end parapets which had been squared off for this purpose. These were removed during the restoration of 1964-65 and the parapets were returned to their original condition. Also a bypass road was constructed so that the bridge could be closed to vehicular traffic. The old road bed can still be discerned. The bridge is located on Antietam Creek southeast of Sharpsburg.

10. Henry Rohrback farm

This nineteenth century farm complex is located at the end of a private lane which extends in an easterly direction from Burnside Bridge Road. The house is a two-story, five-bay brick structure built with Flemish bond at the front or east elevation and common bond at the other walls. Central entrances are present at the first and second stories of the front wall and evidence remains of a two-story porch which once extended across the entire front wall. A one-story, two-bay wing extends to the rear of the house. Numerous outbuildings are located nearby. Among them is a large brick-end bank barn with decorative open work ventilators. High in the gable peak open work patterns form the letters H R for Henry Rohrback.

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The house is associated with the afternoon portion of the battle when fighting was concentrated in the area of Burnside's or Rohrback's Bridge. After the battle, the Ninth Corps of the Army of the Potomac occupied the farm and its buildings. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman, who was fatally wounded near Burnside Bridge, died in the house on September 30, 1862.

11. Snavely's Ford

On the late morning of September 17, General Robert Toombs and a small contingent of Georgians had the entire Federal command under Burnside bottled up at the Burnside Bridge. Rodman's division was sent downstream to find the only known crossing of Antietam Creek in the vicinity, Snavely's Ford. Late in the morning, Rodman's men crossed the stream and began to drive against the right flank of the Georgians. About the same time, Colonel George Crook's scouts located a ford a few hundred yards above the bridge, and he sent his brigade across there. Rodman and Crook hammered the Confederate flanks while masses of Federal troops poured across the bridge. Today, Snavely's Ford is reached by a Park Service nature trail from the Burnside Bridge.

12. Snavely farm (Belinda Springs)

Near Snavely's Ford below the Burnside Bridge on the Antietam is the old Snavely farm which existed earlier as Belinda Springs farm, an early-19th-century resort. It is located at the end of a long private lane. The buildings are situated at the base of a steep bluff and face east or toward the creek. What remains of the Belinda Springs complex is a two-story log dwelling and a one-and-one-half-story stone structure with frame addition giving it an upper story and attaching it to the log section, several frame outbuildings, and the ruins of a large frame bank barn set on high stone foundations. A small stone structure housing one of the springs also remains.

Before the war, Belinda Springs was a regionally well-known health spa. There was a large complex of buildings where many visitors came to stay and take the cure. In 1832, a cholera epidemic broke out among Irish workers on the C & O Canal and Belinda Springs as a resort was closed for good.

During the Battle of Antietam, the Snavely family owned Belinda Springs, and it was near Snavely's Ford where Rodman's command crossed the Antietam to outflank the impasse at the Burnside Bridge. Belinda Springs has already been submitted to the National Register as a separate nomination.

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a. Farmhouse

The log structure is a two-story, three-bay dwelling set on fieldstone foundations. It is constructed of large hewn-squared logs, many of which are greater than one foot in width. The exterior wall surface was apparently sheathed with rough cast applied over split lath. Over this had been placed wooden weatherboarding. More recently, brick composition siding had sheathed the walls. A shed roof porch extends along the south gable wall. An enclosed walkway of frame construction along the east elevation links it to the stone structure. At present, the roof of the log structure is sheathed with sheet metal. Probably the most unusual feature of the log structure is an interior partition of wattle and daub.

b. Stone house

Linked by the walkway to this log building is a one-and-one-half-story stone structure constructed of roughly coursed local limestone. A frame one-story addition has raised the height of this stone building. A massive stone chimney is located in the east gable end.

c. The Belinda Springs Hotel

Extending to the north of the log building are the remains of foundations of a large extension. This was once a high two-story building of log construction sheathed with weatherboarding. This structure, torn down earlier in this century, was known as the Belinda Springs Hotel.

d. Spring

East of the existing structures is a spring over which is a small stone building and remnants of an attached stone wall. This spring supposedly supplied drinking water for the complex. Nearby were other springs deemed medicinal with high mineral content.

13. Harpers Ferry Road

Harpers Ferry Road is an historic road from Sharpsburg to Harpers Ferry. It marks the western terminus of the authorized park boundary from Sharpsburg south and it also roughly marks the western boundary of the fighting of the late afternoon on September 17.

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III. Outlying Areas

1. Lee Headquarters Marker

There is a small parcel of land maintained by Antietam National Battlefield just outside the village limits of Sharpsburg which was the location of General Robert E. Lee's headquarters tent before and during the battle. It is located on Route 34, the Main Street of Sharpsburg at the western edge of town, and amounts to a little over an acre. The monument on this land was erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy to mark the oak grove that served as Lee's headquarters. It is a rough cut granite slab about six feet tall and measuring three by three feet at the base, with a bronze interpretive plaque on the front. The land and the monument were deeded to the Federal Government on July 4, 1942.

2. Reno Monument

Another small outlying area maintained by Antietam National Battlefield but located outside the park boundaries is the Reno Monument. Located atop South Mountain at Fox's Gap on Reno Monument Road off Route 67, the Reno Monument locates the area where Major General Jesse L. Reno, U.S.A., was killed during the Battle of South Mountain. It was erected by the survivors of the Ninth Army Corps to commemorate their commander and comrade. It is of granite, measuring four feet square at the base block. The main shaft, about two feet square and six feet high, is smooth surfaced with the Ninth Army Corps badge on the front and interpretive information on the sides. It has a low hipped capstone. The plot of ground is surrounded by a 40-foot-square wall of concrete, measuring about four feet high.

3. War Correspondent's Memorial Arch

The War Correspondent's Memorial Arch is located on top of South Mountain at Crampton's Gap. It sits on a two-acre plot under the jurisdiction of Antietam National Battlefield within the larger area of the Gathland State Park, a state park of Maryland. Most accounts ascribe the design to George Alfred Townsend, the originator of the idea for the arch and the donator of the site. Townsend is reported to have based his design on a firehouse and railroad station in Hagerstown, Maryland. The railroad station is not standing today.

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The structure is constructed of random coursed stone with trim around the arches in brownstone and limestone. On the north end is a large tower nine by six feet which rises 55 feet. It is capped with a corbelled battlemented parapet. About 26 feet up on the west side is a niche containing a seated figure with attributes of Mercury. The south end is buttressed by a stone pier or abutment, two feet by seven feet at the base, tapering to about four feet across and rising 45 feet high. This is topped by a weather vane. The structure is 38½ feet across at the base. The interior of the arch is 17½ feet wide from pier to pier at the widest part of its horseshoe shape. Above the main central arch are three arches in an arcade. The bases of these are about 25 feet above ground level. Below these arches and continuing under the statue niche in the tower is a brick band containing the words "WAR CORRESPONDENTS MEMORIAL" in molded brick in brick panels in large block letters. A row of crenelations about 26 feet long cap the main section of the structure, between the end towers, at the forty foot level. Two terracotta horse heads project from brick panels above the spandrels of the center arch in the arcade. Below, to each side of the main arch, are terracotta shields with two words inscribed in diagonal banners. They are SPEED, on the southernmost end and HEED on the northernmost. Symbolic terracotta heads are placed in round niches in square brick panels above and adjacent to the shields. A brownstone panel with a dedication is located on the north side. A similar panel on the south, now weathered, is inscribed with ten quotations involving correspondents through the ages. Two tablets on the east elevation list the names of 106 Civil War correspondents (Union), 29 Southern names, and 16 artists. The arch was deeded to the government in 1904. The monument has the feeling of an exotic Victorian folly.

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Modern Intrusions Upon the Historic Scene

The modern intrusions upon the historic scene at Antietam are unusually minimal. The battlefield area has stayed very much the same as it was in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries when the various monuments were set up and the battlefield avenues facilitating visitation were constructed.

Standing on one of the highest points of the battlefield to the east of the old Hagerstown Pike near the Dunker Church is the modern National Park Service Visitors Center containing exhibit area, auditorium, a battlefield viewing deck, and park offices. Directly west of the National Cemetery is the Antietam Maintenance complex of maintenance shops and parking area, situated down a slight hill away from public view. These comprise the principal administrative structures of the park. A few modern bridges intrude on the battlefield. The concrete bridge on the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike replaces the old stone arched bridge washed away in the 1890s. As Rodman Avenue passes near the Sherrick house and becomes Branch Avenue it goes over a concrete overpass which allows the old Burnside Bridge Road to pass underneath. This concrete overpass is a very modern intrusion on an otherwise unspoiled historic area with the Sherrick farm, the Otto house, and the old Stone Mill in view. A modern road diverts traffic around the old Burnside Bridge crossing the Antietam via a modern concrete bridge a little to the north of the old bridge.

As earlier stated, the modern Hagerstown Pike bypass leaves the old pike to follow generally the old course of Confederate Avenue and rejoins the old pike at the juncture of the Taylor's Landing Road. Several modern houses and farm buildings intrude along the battlefield, the largest number being along the Harpers Ferry Road into Sharpsburg. A log maintenance building used by the C & O Canal is situated across Highway 34 across from the National Cemetery.

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LIST OF MONUMENTS AND MARKERS ON ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD

I. State Monuments and Markers

A. Connecticut

1. 8th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road
2. 11th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
North of back road to Rohrersville above Burnside Bridge
3. 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
100 yards north of Bloody Lane
4. 16th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
150 yards east of Branch Avenue

B. Delaware

1. 1st Delaware Infantry
Along the north side of Bloody Lane
2. 2nd Delaware Infantry
Along north side of Bloody Lane
3. 3rd Delaware Infantry
In Philadelphia Brigade Park

C. Georgia

State Monument
South side of Cornfield Avenue

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D. Indiana

1. State Monument
North side at intersection of Cornfield Avenue and Hagerstown Turnpike
2. 3rd Indiana Cavalry
2nd Brigade, Companies A, B, C, D, E, and F
Boonsboro Road between National Cemetery and Middle Bridge
Granite marker
3. 7th Indiana Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, north of Bloody Lane
A 2' X 3' granite marker, 21" high
4. 14th Indiana Infantry
3rd Division, 2nd Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
Granite marker
5. 19th Indiana Infantry
4th Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, across from Philadelphia Brigade Park
Granite marker
6. 27th Indiana Infantry
3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker

E. Maryland

1. State Monument
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, opposite Dunker Church
2. Purnell Legion Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 12th Army Corps
North of Confederate Avenue near Dunker Church
Granite marker

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3. Baltimore Light Artillery, C.S.A.
Jackson's Division
Southwest corner of Philadelphia Brigade Park
4. 1st Maryland Artillery (Dement's Battery), C.S.A.
Ewell's Division
Old Harpers Ferry Road between Branch Avenue and Sharpsburg
Marker
5. 1st Maryland Light Artillery, U.S.A.
Battery A, 1st Division, 6th Army Corps
South side of Smoketown Road
Granite marker
6. 1st Maryland Light Artillery, U.S.A.
Battery B, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker
7. 2nd Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
Northeast corner of Burnside Bridge
Marker
8. 3rd Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 12th Army Corps
Hagerstown Pike, near old Toll-gate house
Granite marker
9. 5th Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
Granite marker, 20' X 20' X 36' high
10. 5th Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps, Companies A and I
125 yards north of Bloody Lane in a field
Monument

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F. Massachusetts

1. State Monument
Hagerstown Pike at Cornfield Avenue intersection
2. 15th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
Gorman's Brigade, Sedgwick's Division, 2nd Corps
East side of Confederate Avenue
3. 21st Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
Southwest corner of Burnside Bridge
4. 35th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
Ferrera's Brigade, 9th Army Corps
Northwest corner of Burnside Bridge
Marker

G. New Jersey

1. State Monument
North side of Cornfield Avenue and Hagerstown Pike
2. Hexamer's New Jersey Battery
Richardson Avenue, near tower
2' X 2' X 6' granite marker
3. Hexamer's New Jersey Battery
South side of Smoketown Road
Granite marker
4. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Infantry, Hexamer's Battery
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite Marker
5. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Infantry, Hexamer's Battery
North side of Smoketown Road
Granite monument, 4'6" long, 2'6" wide, 5' high

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6. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
Crampton's Gap
7. 13th New Jersey Infantry
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker
8. 13th New Jersey Infantry
North side of Confederate Avenue, near Dunker Church
Granite marker
9. 13th New Jersey Infantry
Hagerstown Pike, north of Cornfield Avenue, near Miller farm
Granite marker

H. New York

1. State Monument
125 yards east of Hagerstown Pike, north of visitor center
2. 4th New York Volunteers
1st Scott Life Guards, 3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
3. 9th New York Infantry
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road, near Branch Avenue
4. 14th Brooklyn New York Infantry or 84th NYVM
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
5. 20th Regular New York Volunteer Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Pike, near New York State Monument
6. 20th Regular New York Volunteer Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
4'6" at base, 9' high

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7. 34th New York Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Confederate Avenue, near Dunker Church
8. 51st New York Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
Near Burnside Bridge, east of creek
9. 59th New York Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
Intersection of Smoketown Road and Hagerstown Pike
10. 104th New York Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue

I. Ohio

1. 1st Ohio Light Artillery Battery
Ewings's Brigade, Kanawaha Division, 9th Army Corps
One-half mile downstream from Burnside Bridge on a hill
2. 5th, 7th, and 66th Ohio Infantry
East side of Hagerstown Pike, opposite Dunker Church
3. 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
4. 11th Ohio Infantry Granite Marker
East side Branch Avenue
Shows distance to 11th Ohio Infantry Monument
5. 11th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
In a field 167 yards from Branch Avenue on the east side

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6. 12th Ohio Infantry
1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
395 yards east of Branch Avenue
7. 12th Ohio Granite Marker
East side of Branch Avenue
Shows distance to 12th Ohio Infantry Monument
8. 23rd Ohio Infantry
1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
9. 28th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
10. 30th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
11. 36th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue

J. Pennsylvania

1. Durell's Independent Battery D, Pennsylvania Artillery
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
2. Philadelphia Monument
69th, 71st, 72nd, and 106th Pennsylvania Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
In the West Woods on west side of Hagerstown Pike, north of Dunker Church

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3. 3rd Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on the side
4. 4th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite Monument with soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on the side
5. 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry
Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road
6. 7th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top
7. 8th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on the side
8. 12th Pennsylvania Cavalry
113th of the Line, 4th Cavalry Division
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with a soldier on top
9. 28th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
32 pound Columbiad Marker
10. 45th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue

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11. 48th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
12. 50th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Rodman Avenue
13. 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Southeast corner of Burnside Bridge
14. 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
15. 100th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
16. 124th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
Intersection of Hagerstown Pike and Starke Avenue
17. 125th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Confederate Avenue
18. 128th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
19. 130th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane

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20. 132nd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane

21. 137th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue

K. Texas

State Monument
South side of Cornfield Avenue

L. Vermont

1. Old Vermont Brigade
2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th Infantry Regiments
In a field north of Bloody Lane
2. 1st Vermont Regiment, U.S.
Sharpshooters (Company "F")
National Cemetery
3. 2nd Vermont Regiment, U.S.
Sharpshooters (Companies "E" & "H")
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite

II. Monuments and Markers to Individuals

- A. Brigadier General George B. Anderson, C.S.A.
South side of Bloody Lane
Inverted cannon
- B. Clara Barton
North side of Mansfield Avenue
- C. Brigadier General L. O'Brian Branch, C.S.A.
West side of Branch Avenue
Inverted cannon

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- D. Colonel J. H. Childs, U.S.A.
South side of Boonsboro Pike, near Middle Bridge
- E. Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, U.S.A.
East side of Smoketown Road, near Mansfield Avenue
Granite obelisk
- F. Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, U.S.A.
100 yards from Smoketown Road along a private lane
Inverted cannon
- G. Sergeant William McKinley, U.S.A.
250 yards southwest of Burnside Bridge
- H. Sergeant William McKinley, U.S.A.
250 yards south of Burnside Bridge
- I. Major General Jesse L. Reno, U.S.A.
Fox's Gap, one mile south of U.S. Alternate Route 40 on South Mountain
- J. Major General Israel B. Richardson, U.S.A.
North side of Bloody Lane, near tower
Inverted cannon
- K. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman, U.S.A.
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road
Inverted cannon
- L. Brigadier General William E. Starke, C.S.A.
In center of Philadelphia Brigade Park
Inverted cannon
- M. Lieutenant Colonel John Lemuel Stetson, U.S.A.
1-East side of Hagerstown bypass near Koagles Lane
Granite monument
1-Intersection of Smoketown and old Hagerstown Pike

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III. Other Stone Monuments

- A. Lee's Headquarters
North side of Shepherdstown Road
- B. Norfolk and Western Railroad Station Monument
Eight cannons forming a monument - removed as an outdoor exhibit and
presently in storage
- C. Observation Tower
Richardson Avenue
75 foot tall limestone and iron tower
- D. Union Soldier
Center of National Cemetery
42'3" granite monument of a Union soldier, with the inscription,
"Not for Themselves, but for their Country"
- E. War Correspondents Memorial Arch
Crampton's Gap, 10 miles east of Sharpsburg

8 SIGNIFICANCE

WA-II-477

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
<input type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> RELIGION	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES September 16-18, 1862

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Antietam National Battlefield is significant because it was the scene of one of the major battles of the American Civil War and of American history. On September 17, 1862, Union forces under the command of General George B. McClellan met Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee at Antietam Creek near the village of Sharpsburg in Washington County, Maryland. Fierce close combat fighting ensued resulting in the bloodiest day of the Civil War with over 22,000 casualties. On the night of September 17, both armies fell back exhausted and decimated by terrific losses. No fighting resumed on September 18, and on the night of the 18th, the Army of Northern Virginia retreated across the Potomac back into Virginia. Although no victory could be claimed for either side, McClellan's army did arrest the Confederate invasion into Maryland, spoiling Lee's plans of cutting off Northern supply lines to Washington. Because he chose not to pursue Lee into Virginia, McClellan was criticized severely and was removed as Commander in Chief of the Army of the Potomac by Lincoln on November 7, 1862. Using the expulsion of Lee's army from Maryland as an occasion to achieve a great propaganda victory, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 23, 1862, releasing the slaves in the states at war with the Federal government and turning European popular opinion against the Confederacy. Thus, the Civil War was turned into a crusade against slavery as well as a war for the Union. The thin thread of Union "victory" at Antietam gave Lincoln the occasion for this master stroke of political strategy, with its massive implications for American Negroes.

The Battlefield and National Cemetery at Antietam are significant in that they represent an early attempt by Americans to memorialize and commemorate those who fought for their country in the Civil War.

In March 1865, the Maryland legislature appropriated \$15,000 and appointed four trustees to purchase a suitable plot of ground on the Antietam Battlefield for the interment of the remains of the Union soldiers who fell in the battle of Antietam. Additional funds came from Northern states whose troops participated in the battle, totaling about \$70,000. Ground was purchased at the edge of Sharpsburg and enclosed by a substantial stone wall. The work of removing the bodies from the fields where they had hastily been buried after the battle began in October 1866 and was finished in August 1867. Bodies were brought from surrounding towns of Middletown, Frederick, Weverton, Burkittsville, Williamsport, Boonsboro, Funkstown, and Rohrsersville. The cemetery was dedicated on September 17, 1867, with President Andrew Johnson present. In 1880 a forty-

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seven foot monument depicting a private soldier was erected in the center of the cemetery. The monument had been designed for the main entrance of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia by James G. Batterson's quarries near Providence, Rhode Island. After the exposition closed in 1878 the statue was taken to Washington and from there it was brought up the C & O Canal to Antietam. It was shipped in two pieces and joined together at the belt. The statue itself minus the pedestal stands twenty-one feet six inches, towering over the cemetery. The number of Civil War bodies buried in the cemetery is 4,759 of which 1,848 are unknown.

Beginning in 1868, annual observations of Decoration Day or Memorial Day were held at the Antietam Cemetery. Observances and veterans reunion were also held on September 17, the anniversary of the battle. For many years afterward Union and Confederate veterans returned to Sharpsburg for these annual ceremonies. An avenue of trees was planted from the Sharpsburg railroad station into town to serve as an avenue for Memorial Day processions. In 1885 General George B. McClellan returned to speak to the Memorial Day gathering and was warmly received by Union and Confederate veterans alike. President Theodore Roosevelt came to the cemetery on September 17, 1903, at the dedication of the New Jersey monument. President Franklin D. Roosevelt came at the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1937.

Beginning in the late 1890's veterans' organizations from the various states began erecting monuments on the battlefield commemorating the regiments engaged in the battle as well as larger state monuments honoring all the military units from a particular state at Antietam. This practice continued heavily through the turn of the century and to a lesser degree down to the 1960's. Some monuments are obelisks, some columns, and some simple markers. The most elaborate were often surmounted with realistically carved statues of Union soldiers in various stances of military preparedness or attack. The Maryland State Monument is an ornate eight sided pavilion supported by columns with a dome and surmounting statue. Cannon mounted in stone with their muzzles pointed downward mark the spots where generals were shot in the battle. There are three regimental monuments in the National Cemetery. There are six cannon to slain generals and 81 monuments scattered throughout the park. All in all they represent a wide sampling of late 19th and early 20th century military memorialization from the period when such monumentation was in its heyday. Most striking artistically are the carved stone statues of young soldiers standing vigilant across the battlefield. Many of these were erected by Pennsylvania regiments. Standing on roadways at the edge of fields they add much to the particular haunting charm of Antietam.

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Antietam National Battlefield is significant in that the historic scene remains incredibly intact. Some of the woods are gone; some of the roads have been changed. But most of the houses, barns, farm buildings, views and vistas remain much as they were in September of 1862. The most remarkable feature of Antietam which distinguishes it from most other battlefields managed by the National Park Service is the almost perfect integrity of the site. The setting was always rural. The German farmers who owned the farms around the battlefield tended to maintain their antebellum houses and barns in good repair. So far there has been only a minimum of development around Sharpsburg. The farms are still farmed. Corn still grows in Miller's cornfield, where the heaviest fighting took place. The Observation Tower, Cemetery, Cemetery Lodge, and the monuments are obvious additions now historic in their own right. The Hagerstown Pike has been moved slightly and widened. A few modern houses abut the park entrance, and the modern visitors center is an intrusion on the battlefield. But from many views and vistas the visitor gets an almost exact impression of how an American rural landscape appeared over a century ago.

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UTM References

A. 18 263520 4375280
B. 18 264680 4375220
C. 18 264960 4374920
D. 18 265400 4373760
E. 18 266360 4373060
F. 18 266900 4372990
G. 18 266920 4372830
H. 18 265350 4370710
I. 18 265590 4370050
J. 18 265160 4369090
K. 18 264160 4368820
L. 18 263640 4369130
M. 18 263560 4370490
N. 18 264080 4371410
O. 18 263800 4371530
P. 18 263820 4372250
Q. 18 262960 4372390
R. 18 262360 4374020
S. 18 262560 4374720
T. 18 262480 4370740
U. 18 272730 4364910
V. 18 274665 4372020

Piper Farm
WA-H-0335

Antietam National Battlefield WA-II-477
Sharpsburg, Washington County, MD
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Frederick Community College
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Addendum

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Piper Farm (WA-II-0335)

Daniel Piper purchased this farm in 1846 and operated it with his grown son Henry, who inherited it when his father died in 1854. The Piper family was typical of the region in being both avowed Unionists and slaveholders. In 1850, each man owned a family of slaves: Daniel, five, several of them children; Henry, four, ages six months to 24 years. To accommodate the two slave families, around that time the stone slave quarters were divided into two sections, each with one room, an outside door, and an upper loft. (A second room on the south end of the building was constructed at an unknown date. It has a door on the east elevation and a window on the west elevation, and was used for either additional living space or work space. Around 1912, log wall additions raised the upper story of the building to accommodate its use for housing part of a tenant farmer's family.)

By 1860, there were six slaves on the farm, five of them children, and one sixteen-year-old free black farm hand named John J. One of these slaves, Jeremiah (Jerry) Cornelius Summers, was born on the farm in 1849. Thirteen years old in September 1862, he fled with the Piper family when they abandoned their home as the Confederate army began to set up its line of defense across the farm's fields and orchard in preparation for the Battle of Antietam. During the mid-day phase of the fight on September 17, General Longstreet used the farmhouse as his headquarters.

In April 1864, Summers was at the center of a controversy in the Sharpsburg community. A company of the 19th U.S. Colored Troops headquartered at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Sharpsburg was accused of seizing "diverse colored men, free and slave," including Jeremiah Summers, from the surrounding area to join their ranks. Henry Piper protested that Summers was still a minor and therefore not subject to military service. He retrieved the boy from the church headquarters and returned with him to the farm. The company commander then sent a guard of "eight or more armed colored" troops to arrest Piper. He was released in return for his consent for Summers to rejoin the company. "Almost immediately thereafter" the troops left town. Piper had to go to Frederick to speak with the Provost Marshal before he could get Summers back. The citizens of Sharpsburg and the surrounding area were "aggrieved and outraged" by what they perceived as unauthorized impressment of Summers and by the disrespectful and violent manhandling of Piper during his arrest. At a hastily organized meeting they drafted a petition to Major General Lew Wallace asking for an investigation of the incident.

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After his emancipation in November 1864, Jerry continued to work and live on the Piper farm, employed by Henry's son Samuel. He testified in support of Piper's claim against the government for compensation for war damage to the farm. Henry Piper had retired to an elegant stone house in nearby Sharpsburg, where he employed Jerry's son, Emory Summers.

In 1924, Fred W. Cross, a visitor to the Antietam Battlefield, took several photographs of Jerry Summers at his home located on Bloody Lane on the northern edge of the Piper farm. Cross described Summers as "the last of the slaves of Sharpsburg," noting, "At Henry Piper's death Jerry was given the use for life of a small cottage and garden plot facing the northerly stretch of the 'Bloody Lane.'"

Jeremiah Cornelius Summers died the following year in 1925 at the age of 76. He was buried in the cemetery of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg.

Piper Farm
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Wallace, Edith B., "Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Resources in Washington County, Maryland" (master's thesis, Goucher College, 2003), 16, 43, 61, 87, 90, 121, 137.

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Otto House (WA-II-354)

The Otto House is a typical example of an antebellum farm house in the mid-Maryland region. Deed research has led to the assumption that the main house was built ca. 1790. It remained in the Otto family into the twentieth century and was eventually sold to the National Park Foundation in 1976. It is now held by the National Park Service, and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1981. The house is the only remaining building from the nineteenth century Otto farmstead.

John Otto lived on the 60-acre farm at the time of the Civil War. Located near Burnside's Bridge, the house was used as a refuge by Confederate officers and soldiers immediately prior to the Battle of Antietam. When Rodman's command was repelled by A. P. Hill, their line fell back to the Otto farm. As a result, the house and barn were used as a hospital for Union soldiers during and after the battle.

The farm is also significant due to its association with Hilary Watson, one of the leading freedmen of the area after the civil war. As of 1860, John Otto owned two slaves: 27-year-old Watson, who worked with Otto in the fields, and Watson's 54-year-old mother, who probably worked in the house. The pair lived, in his own words, "in the same house the white people did," most likely in a small room above the kitchen. In a 1915 interview, Watson said that Otto paid him for harvest work and for work he did while hired out to other farmers.

During the Battle of Antietam in September 1862, the farm was first occupied by Confederate soldiers, then Union, and then converted into a temporary hospital after the battle. The Otto family left the farm before the battle started, but Watson stayed to look after the place. He later recalled his encounter with a Confederate soldier:

On Tuesday all the Otto family left and went down country for safety. I stayed on the place. Once I fastened up the house tight and walked up in the field. By and by I had a feelin' that I'd better go back, and I went. I found some one had broke a pane of glass in a window and reached in and took out the nail that kept the sash down. Then he'd raised the window and crawled in. Close by, inside of the room, was a washbench, and he'd set

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a crock of preserves and a crock of flour on it ready to carry away. I took the things and put 'em where they belonged and started on the trail of the thief. It was easy follerin' him, for he left all the doors open which he went through. In the dining-room he'd poured a lot of sugar on a handkercher to take along, and he'd gone into my old boss's room and strewed his papers around over the floor. Next he'd gone upstairs, and I went up 'em, too, and hyar he was in a little pantry. He was a Rebel soldier – a young feller – and not very large. I was skeered, but he was mo' skeered than I was – certainly he was; and I said, "You dirty houn' you, I have a notion to take you and throw you down those steps."

Oh! I could have mashed him, for I saw he had no revolver. He did n't say anything. He left. I reckon I was too big for him.¹

May 1864 saw the first military draft for African Americans in Washington County. Watson, then 32 years old, was drafted, but then exempted after Otto paid the \$300 commutation fee. Years later, a writer researching stories about Civil War sites interviewed Watson, who was still living in Sharpsburg. Watson told the writer "when I was drafted to be a soldier, my boss said, 'Do you want to go?' and I told him, 'No, sir.' So me'n'him went to Frederick and he paid three hundred dollars to keep me out of the army."² No doubt it was a little more complicated than this. Otto must have been reluctant to lose a farm hand during the war, but according to both Watson and the Otto family history, Watson was close to the Otto family.

After his November 1864 emancipation, Watson continued to work on the Otto farm; the 1870 census records him working there as a farm laborer with his wife, Christina, and Adeline Turner, 104 years old.³ In 1872, he purchased a lot on High Street in Sharpsburg, where he built a log house for himself and his wife, Christina. Watson was one of the leading members of Sharpsburg's African-American community. He was instrumental in the building of Tolson's Chapel in 1866, and served as a trustee for several years after its construction. And in 1899, the

¹ Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 106.

² Ibid, 105.

³ *United States Federal Census Records*: 1870, District 1, Washington County, Maryland.

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county school board built an African American school (to replace the one that had been meeting in Tolson's Chapel since 1868) next door to Watson's house, where his granddaughter taught. In 1910, he was working as a broom-maker and living with Christina in Sharpsburg.⁴ Watson died on September 20, 1917, at the age of 85, and is buried in the graveyard of Tolson's Chapel.

⁴ *United States Federal Census Records*: 1910, Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland.

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Otto Farm, no. MD-943-A; Historic American Building Survey <
<http://memory.loc.gov/pnp/habshaer/md/md1200/md1269/data/md1269.pdf>>.

Edith B. Wallace, "Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Resources in Washington County, Maryland" (master's thesis, Goucher College, 2003), 37, 62-63, 83, 90, 91, 139.

BARN, with exceptions shown,
was in its present form in 1862.
Roof was hand-made wooden shingle.
Cupolas added 1912.

Loft was logs laid across
cross-beams (3 of these are
still there). Shocks of
wheat were laid on the logs.

Cistern
Formerly brick;
concrete covered
1900's

wood replaced in
doors but hinges,
etc., original

Fruit-packing
Shed
(before 1862)

1912 addition

hay

date '1820' carved
above door.

Shed for wagon parking
(before 1862)

Corn crib

Stone walk to
lower stable
doors

← milk cows

← feed box

← grainery

← milk cows

barn yard

← feeding room

← horse barn

Stone wall
(present 1862)

Present in 1862. Much of
foundation remains & pieces
of press. Said to be just
like old Dutch presses in Penna

CIDER
PRESS
Built 1852
(now destroyed)

corner stone
remains

"truck"

post & rail

Stone walk to other sheds

lane

corner post
still marked

pond

Grape Ar

Pear Tree

gate(s) located in fence - exact position(s) unknown

Piper Farm

Hagerstown
Pike

lane

post & rail

WA-II-477

(Apples & Pears - one pear tree remains)

fence, type unknown, probable post & rail

"Truck" → Shed (date unknown, present) → Patch

Shed
(date unknown, present
at least since late 19th cen.)

Blacksmith Shop
(probably present in 1662)

Hog
Yard

- Hog Pen Building (destroyed)
(present at house since
late 19th cen. A
similar building
probably here 1862)

old well (covered)

doors?

Stone walk appears to have connected the sheds & joined at the corner.

lane

Barnes
Pike

Smoke house
(probably present 1862)
original log construction
exposed above door.

Outhouse
→ (described)

Dutch Over
(destroyed)
probably here
in 1862.



Wine
Cellar
(probably
here 186

Said to be
just line 7
one st. if
Howard St.
Farm -
Hendall R.

Slave Quarters possibly of mid-18th century construction. Thought to be the original "Ellwick's Dwelling" of 1740's.

HOUSE. Main portion (ie, facing west) built prior to Civil War: original kitchen (north end of house) was one story, stone chimney (now destroyed) & fireplace on north wall. Rest of house 2-story.

After the Civil War (c. 1898) the back kitchen wing was added & the floor of the original (formerly 3-4" low) was raised to the level of the rest of the rooms. This necessitated shortening the former kitchen door ("A") & covering the trap door to the cellar (the original floor & trap door can be seen from the cellar). The 2^d floor over the original kitchen & the back kitchen was added c. 1912, & the stone chimney & fire place removed.

A spurt \rightarrow
ran from
the pump
to the
trough.
(date unknown)

Pump
Original wood
like the one
there today,
which is a
replacement.
Well cover
originally wood
now concrete.
A grape arbor
was over it.

Fence - with gate(s) -
paling or post & rail

Ice Cellar

At least four large trees grow in the places indicated in 1862 (type unknown). They died around 1900.

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Grantees shall supply the following data on nonfederal match and administrative costs. Documentation should cover the entire fiscal year.

1. Source of Match (express in dollar amounts)	Cash	Donated goods and Services (in-kind)	Donated Property
a. Survey and Planning			
-- Federal			
-- State			
-- County			
-- Municipal			
-- Educational Institution			
-- Private, Non- profit			
-- Commercial Organization			
-- Private			
Totals			
b. Acquisition and Development			
-- Federal			
-- State			
-- County			
-- Municipal			
-- Educational Institution			
-- Private, Non- profit			
-- Commercial Organization			
-- Private			
Totals			

2. Total amount expended in administrative costs for the State historic preservation program in fiscal year 1981, including dollar value of in-kind services and donations. (See Chapter 6, page 12, HPF Grants Management Manual for the definition of administrative costs.)

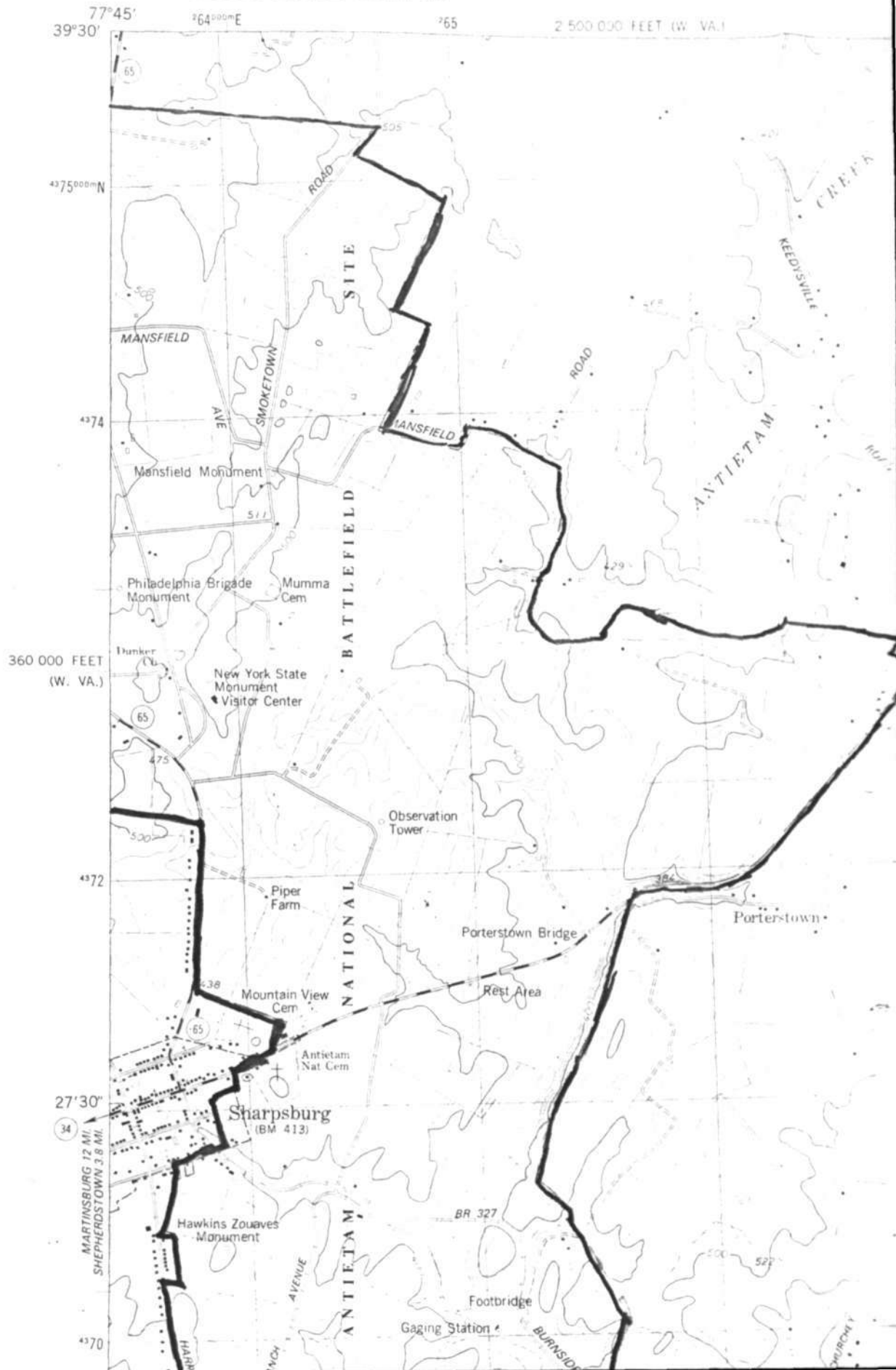
WA-II-477



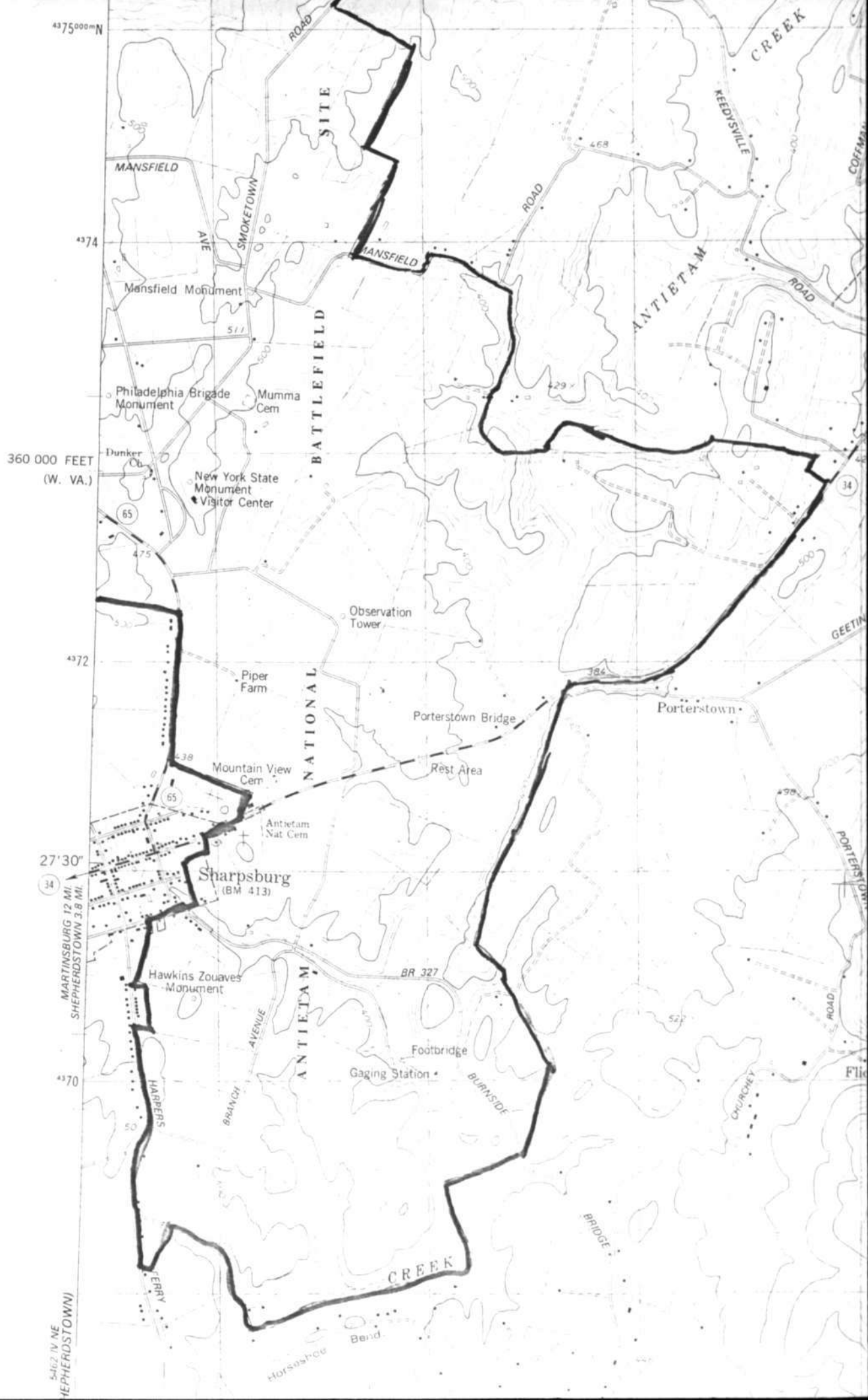
5463 III SE
(WILLIAMSPORT)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

KEEDYSVILLE, MD. - W.VA.
NW/4 Antietam 15' Quadrangle
N3922.5-W7737.5/7.5



WA-II-477

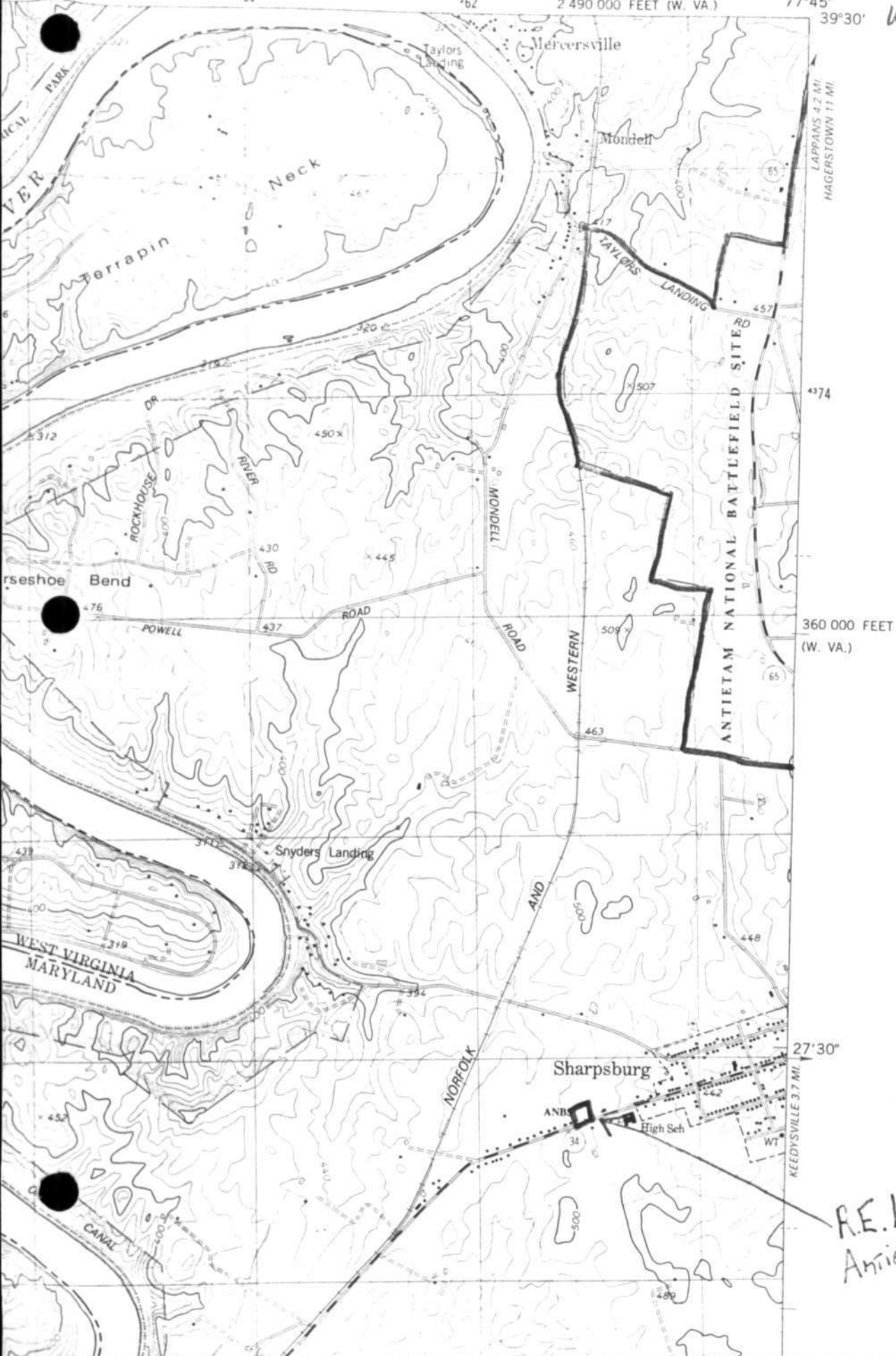


SHEPHERDSTOWN QUADRANGLE
WEST VIRGINIA-MARYLAND
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)

5463 II SW
(FUNKSTOWN)

NE 4 MARTINSBURG 15' QUADRANGLE
BAKERSVILLE 1.3 MI
2 490 000 FEET (W. VA.)

7°30' 361 362 77°45' 39°30' WA-II-477



R.E. Lee Hqs.
Antietam NB

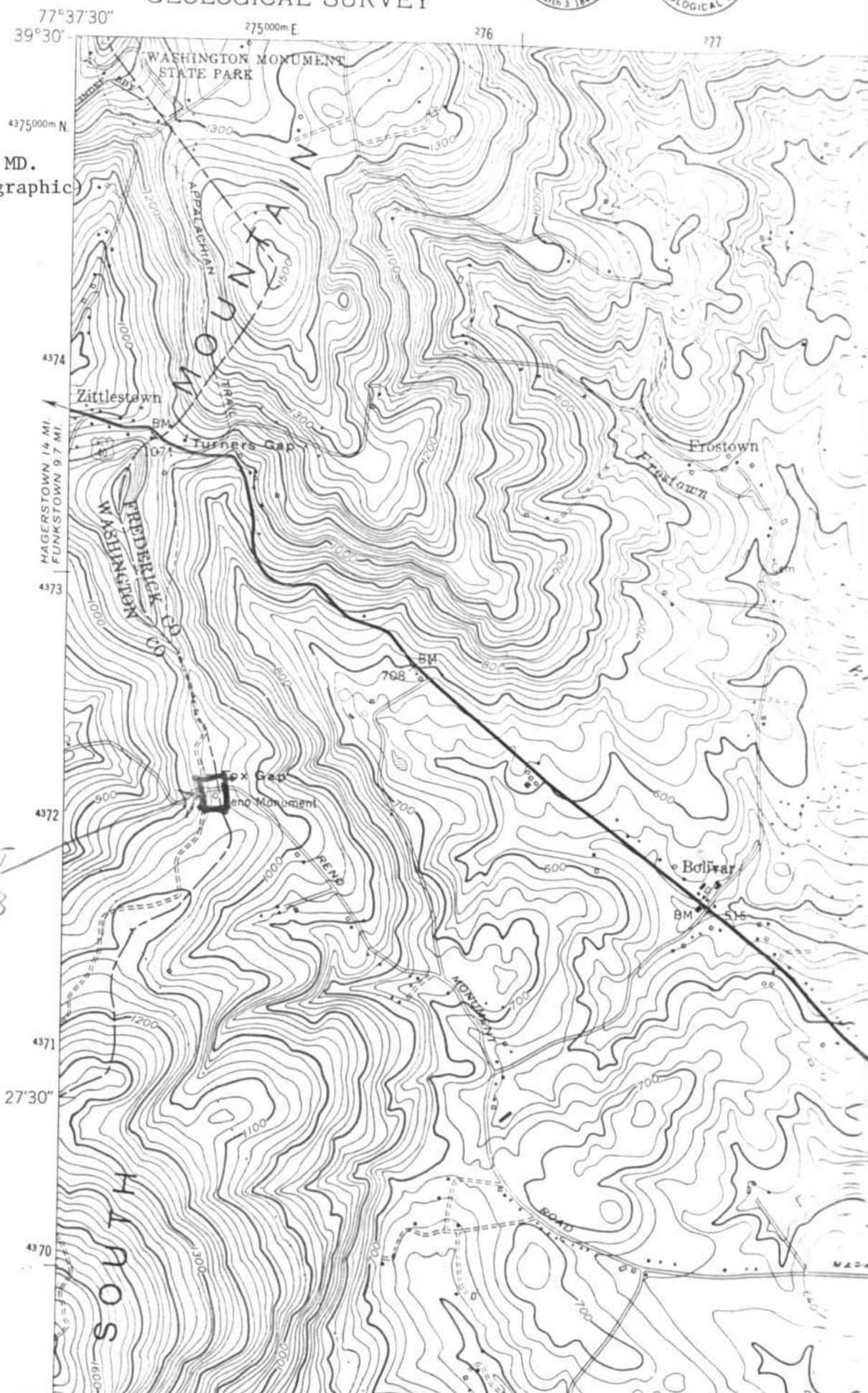
5463 11 SW
(FUNKSTOWN)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY



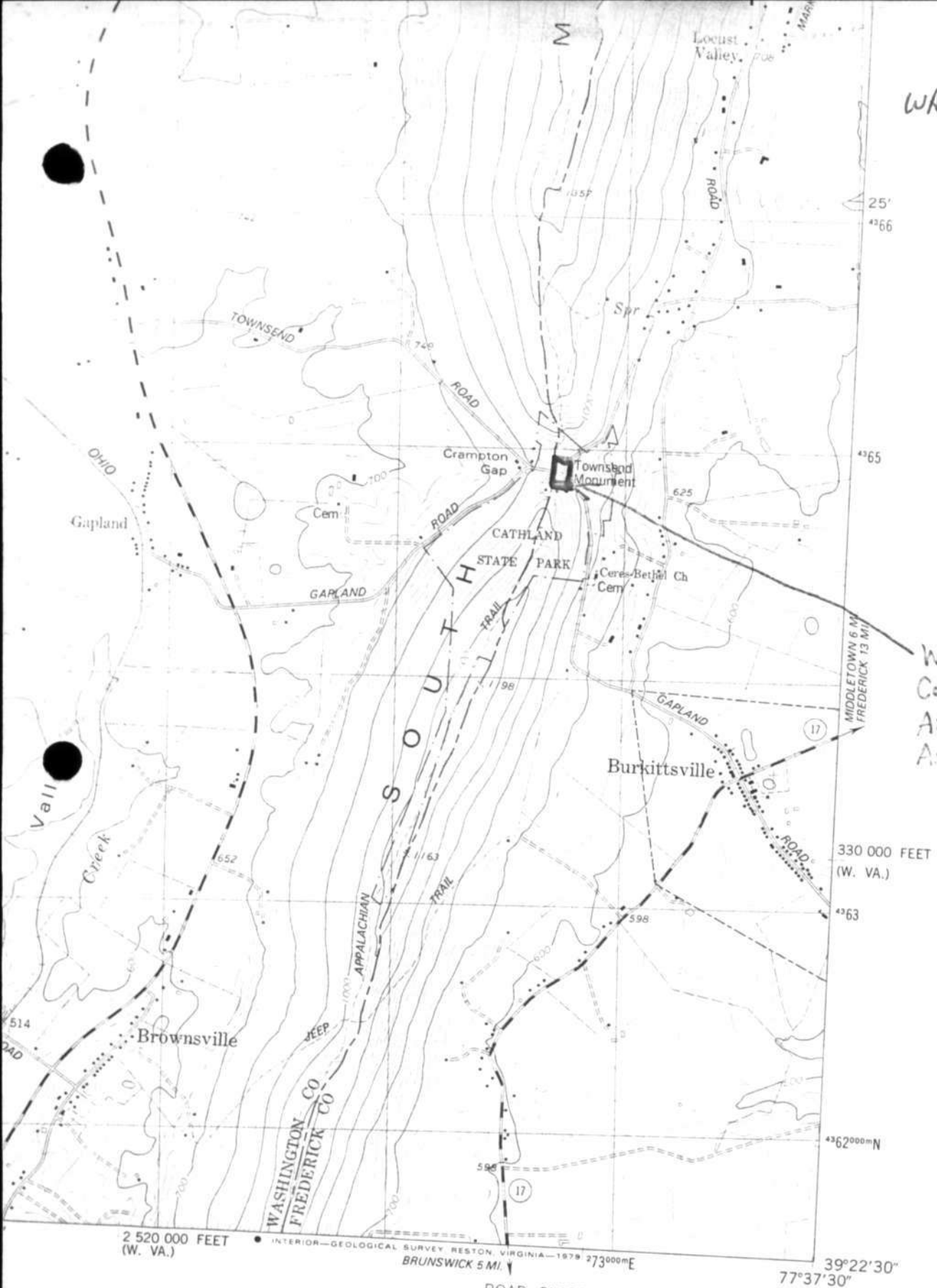
WA-II-477

MIDDLETOWN QUADRANGLE, MD.
7.5 Minute Series (topographic)
N3922.5 - W7730/7.5



Rensselaersburg
Anticline NB

WA-II-477



War
Correspondents
Arch
Antietam 13

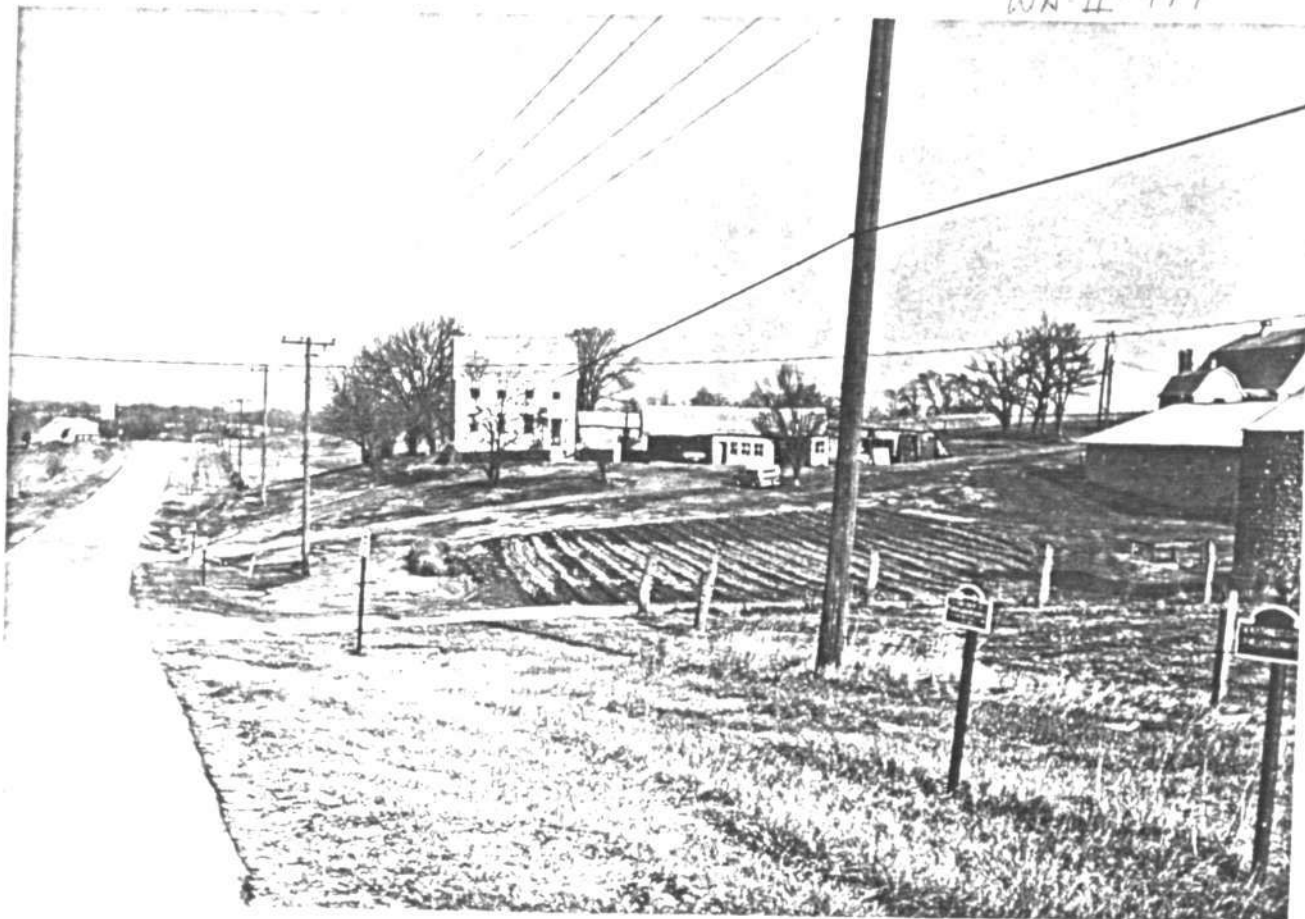
- ROAD CLASSIFICATION**
- Primary highway, hard surface
 - Secondary highway, hard surface
 - Interstate Route
 - U. S. Route
 - State Route
 - Light-duty road, hard or improved surface
 - Unimproved road



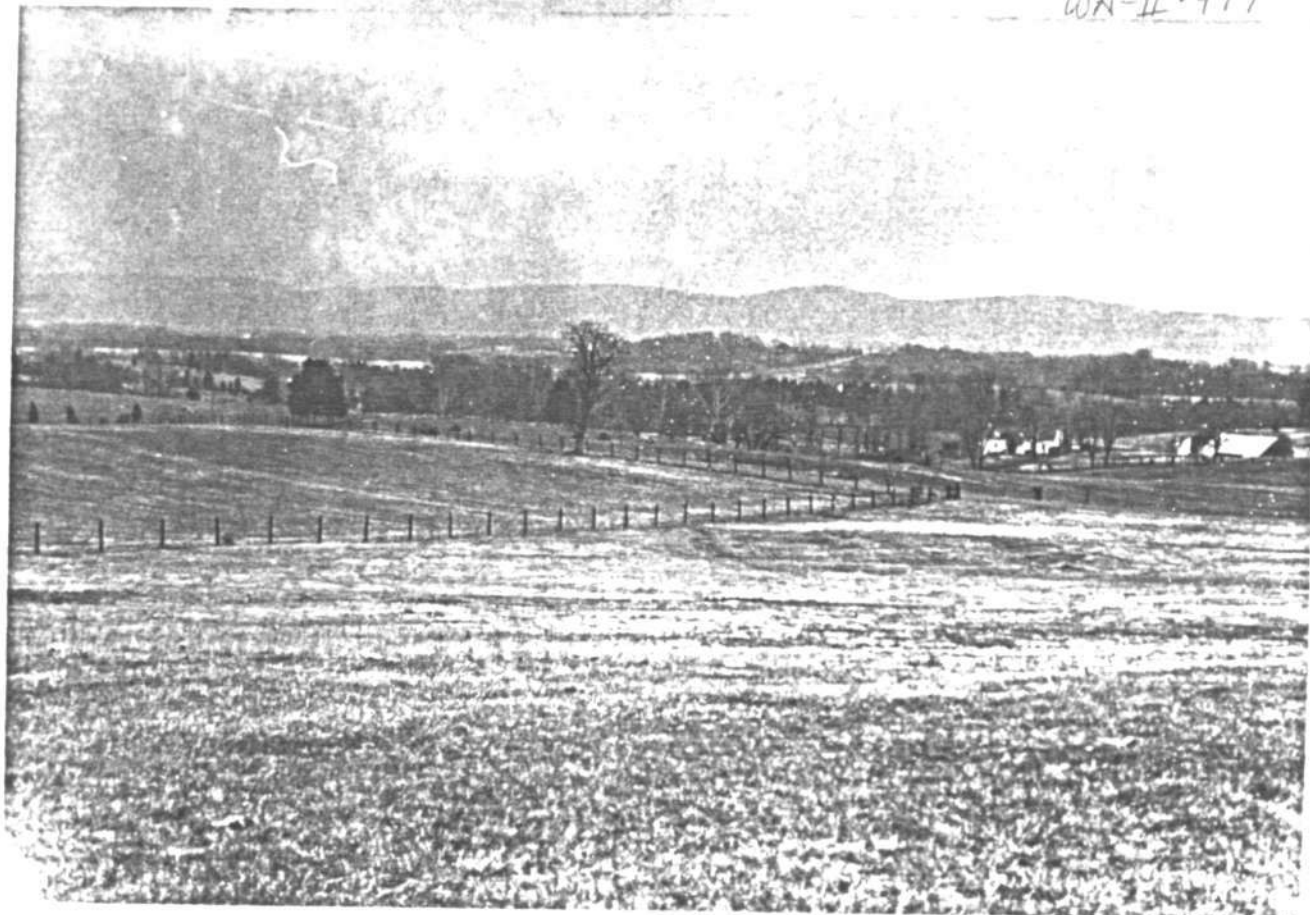
QUADRANGLE LOCATION

KEEDYSVILLE, MD.—W. VA. N3922.5-W7737.5/7.5
NW/4 ANTIETAM 15' QUADRANGLE
N3922.5 W7737.5

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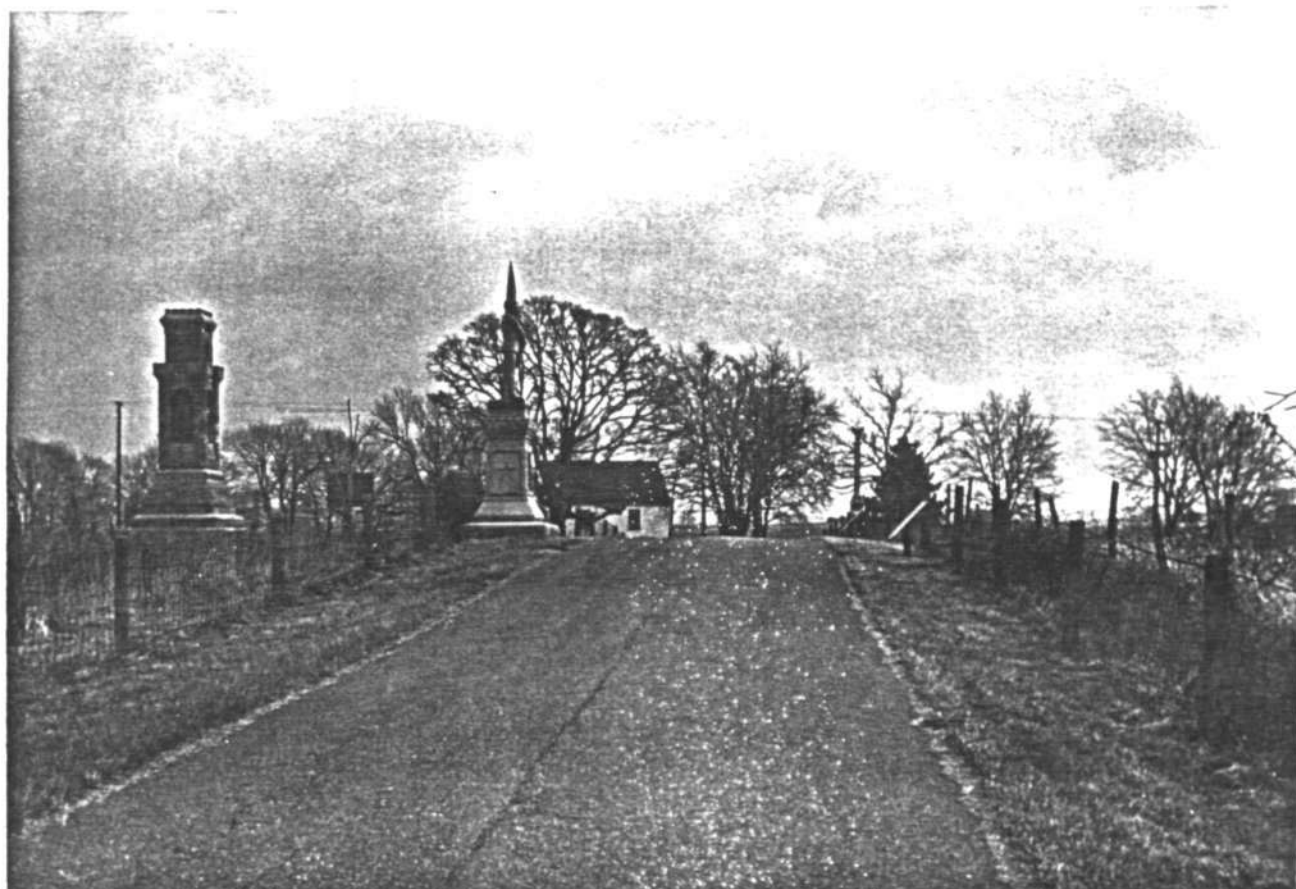
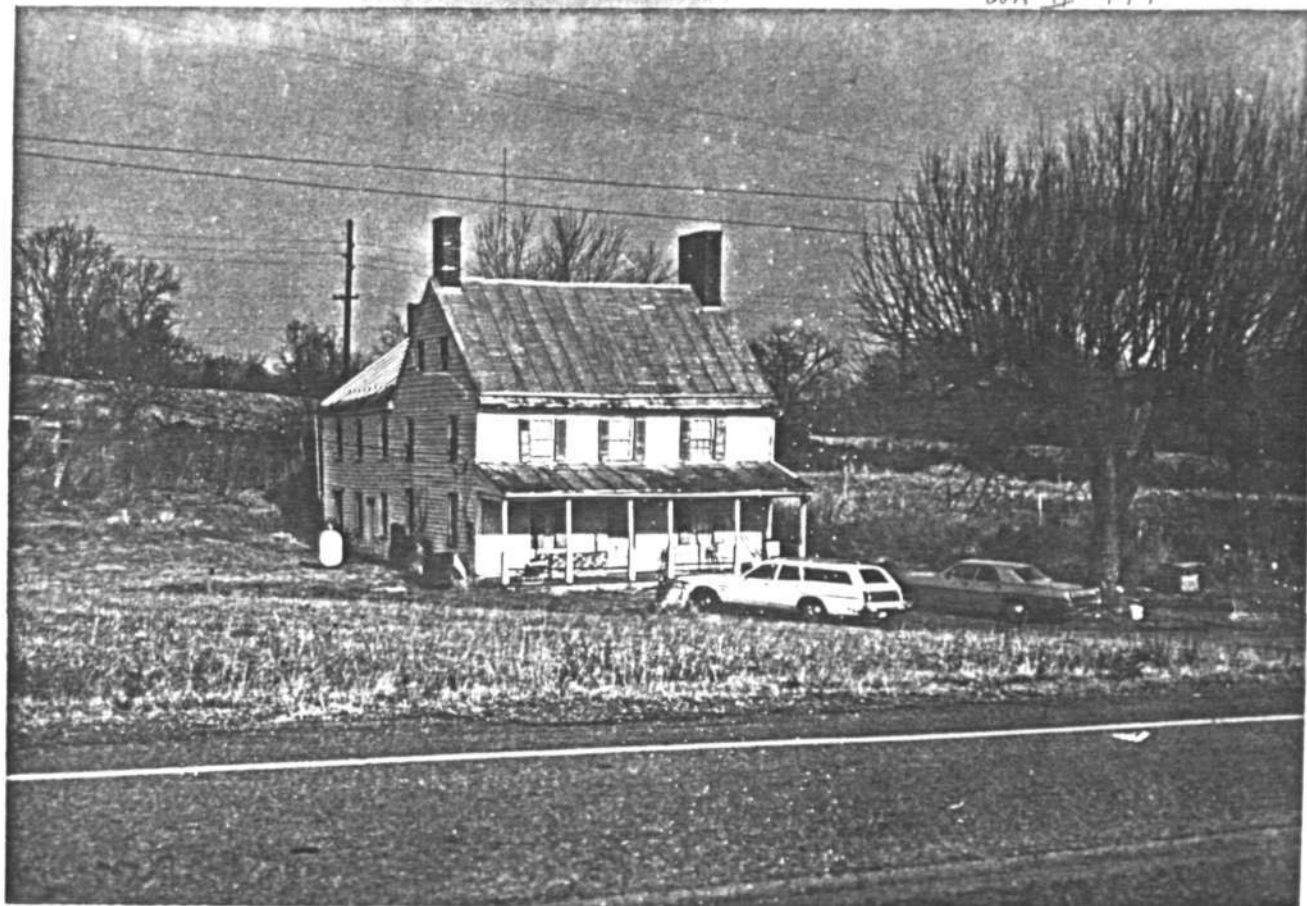




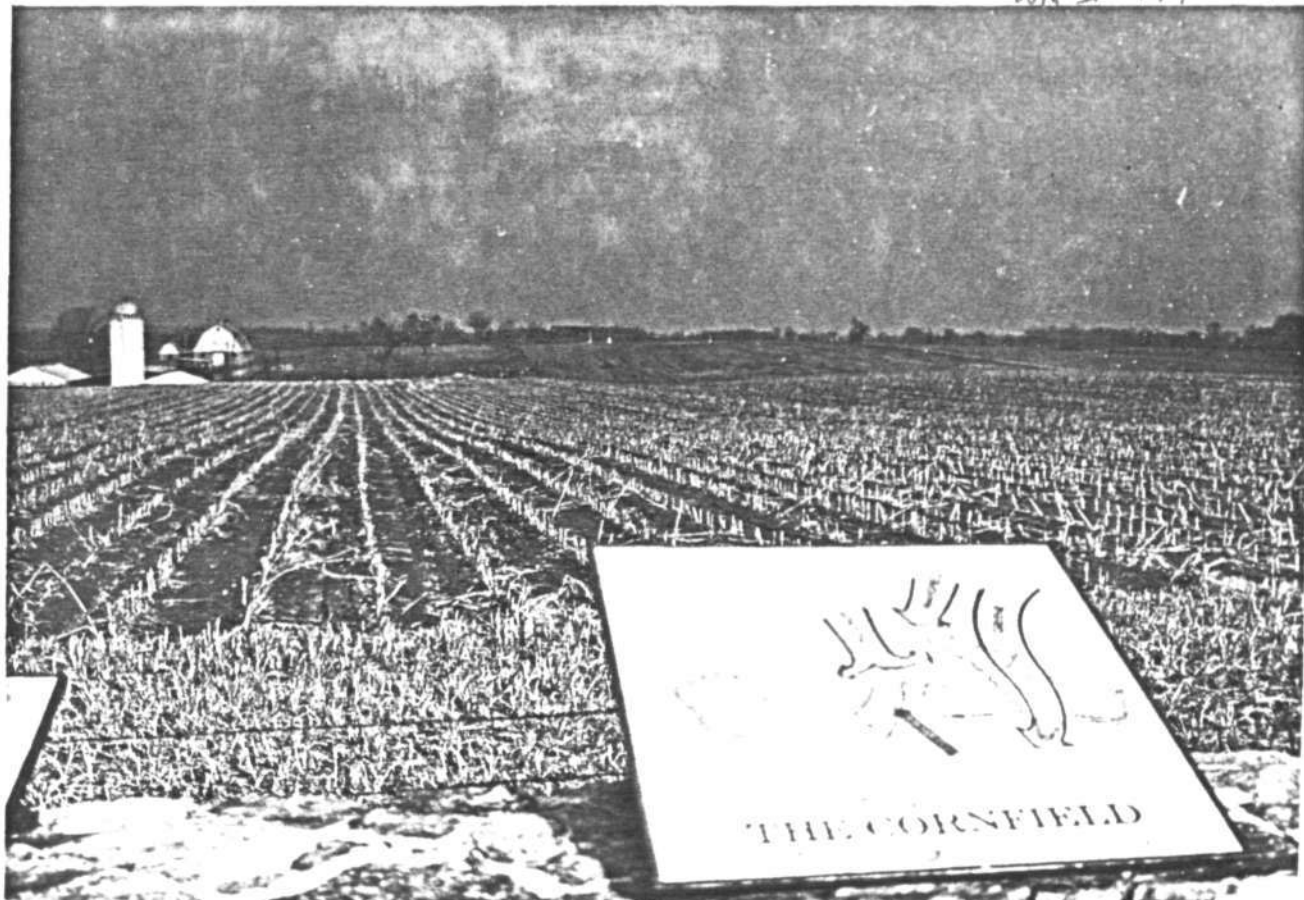
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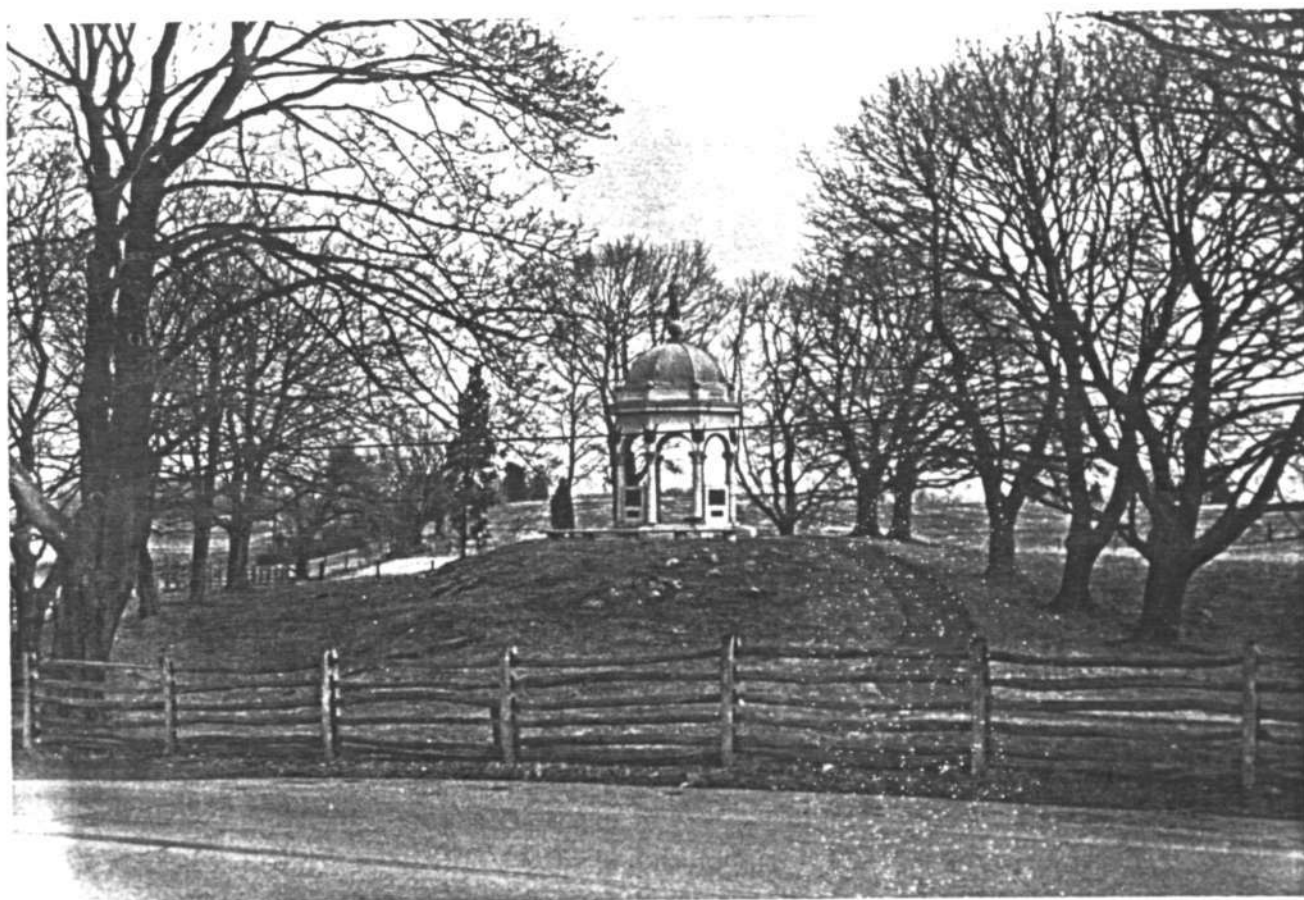


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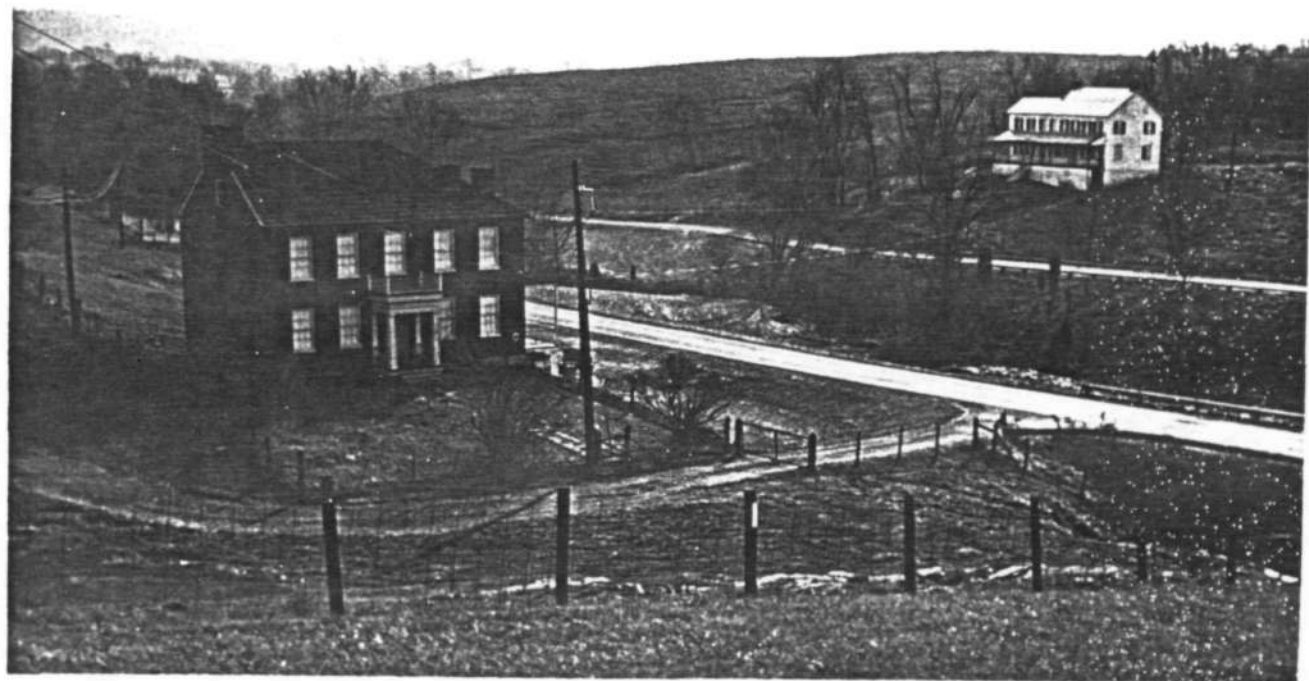
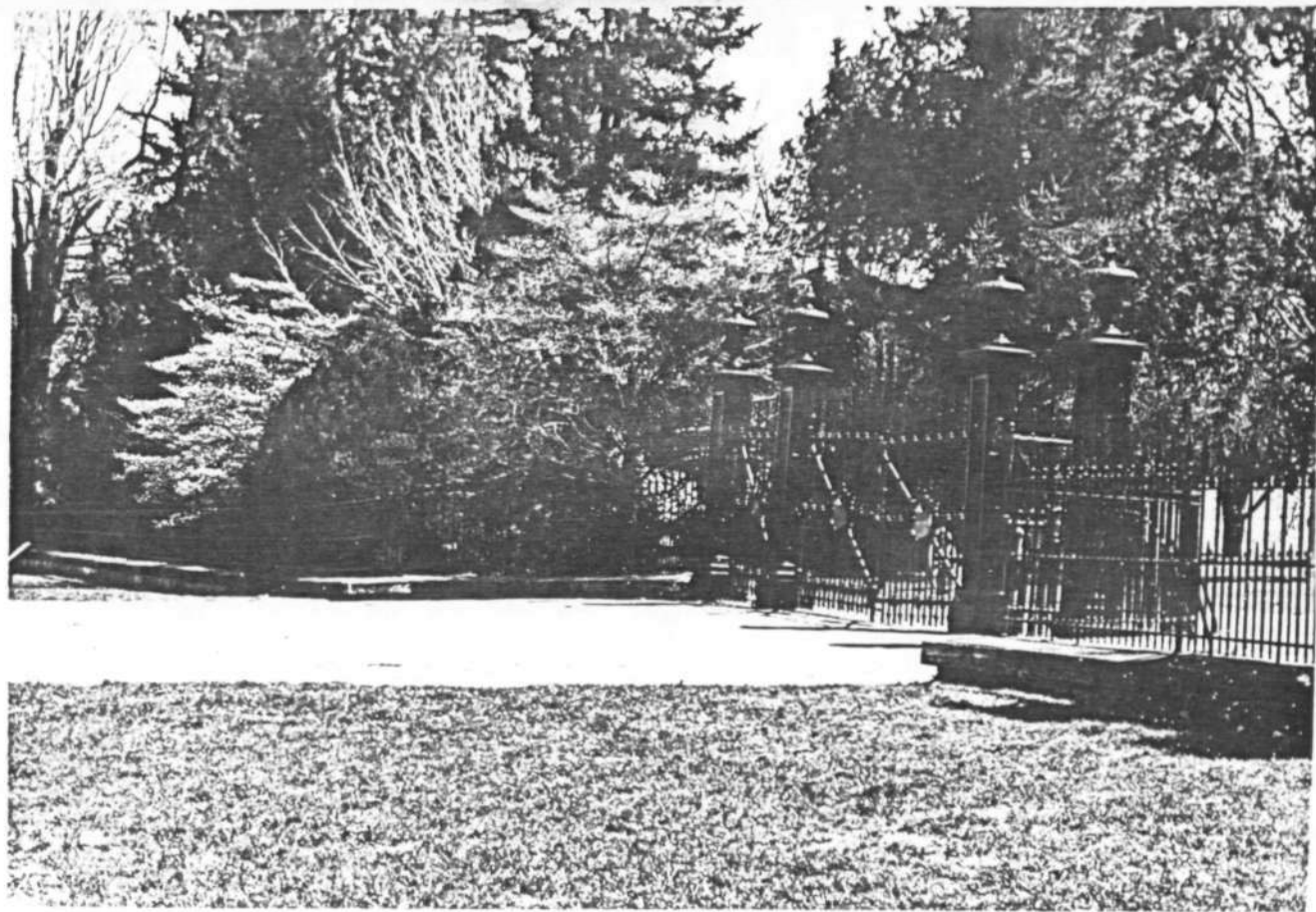




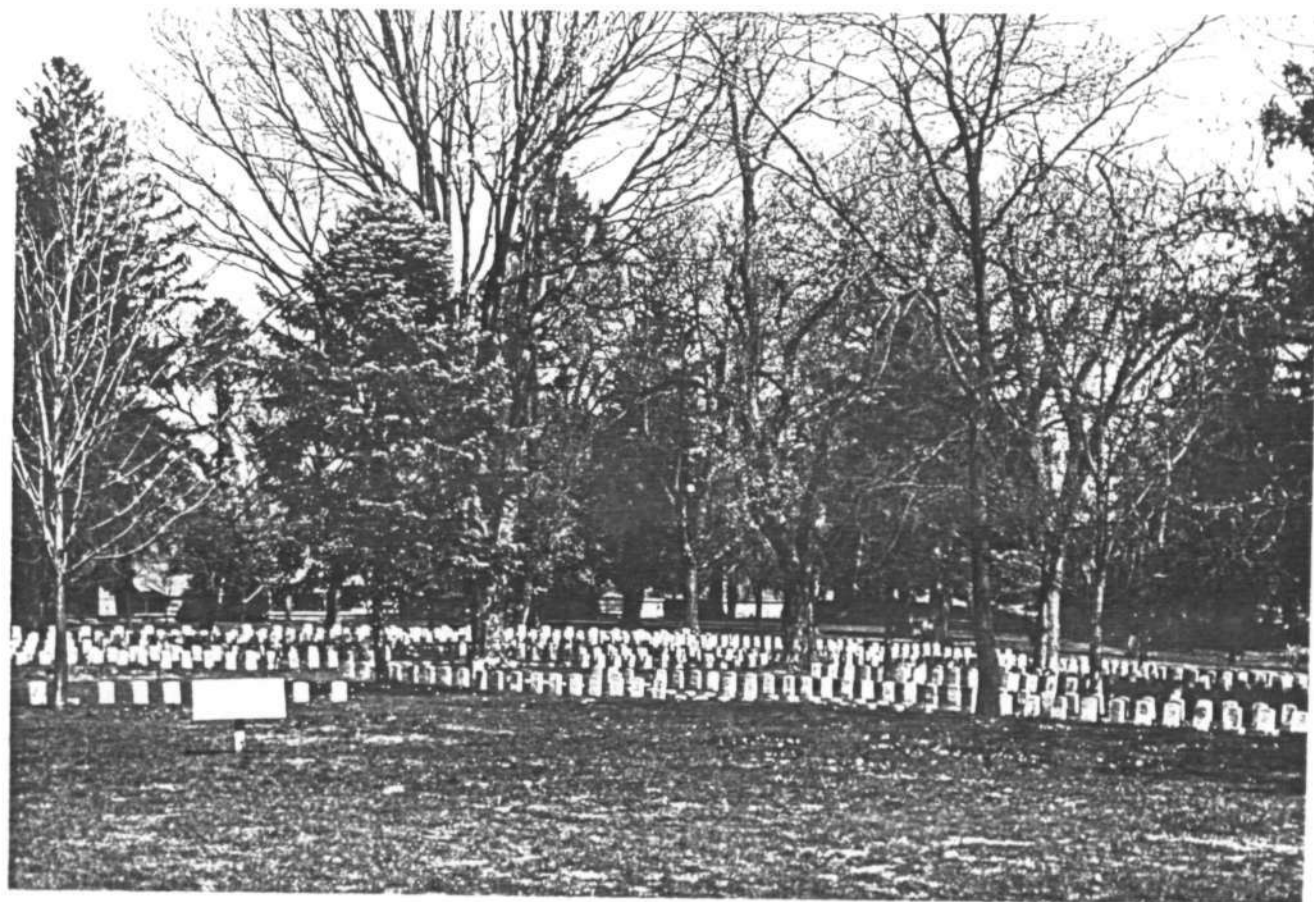
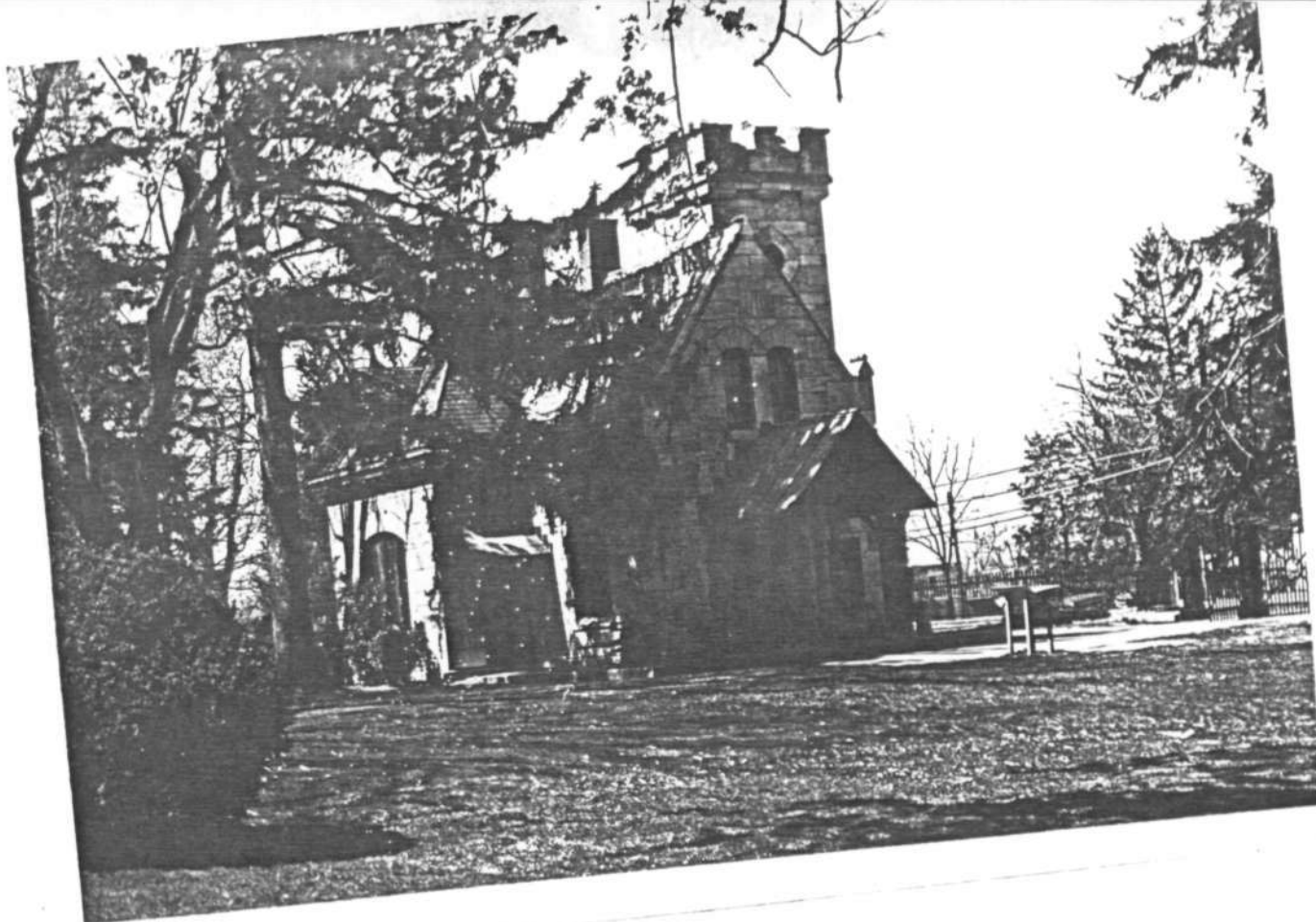


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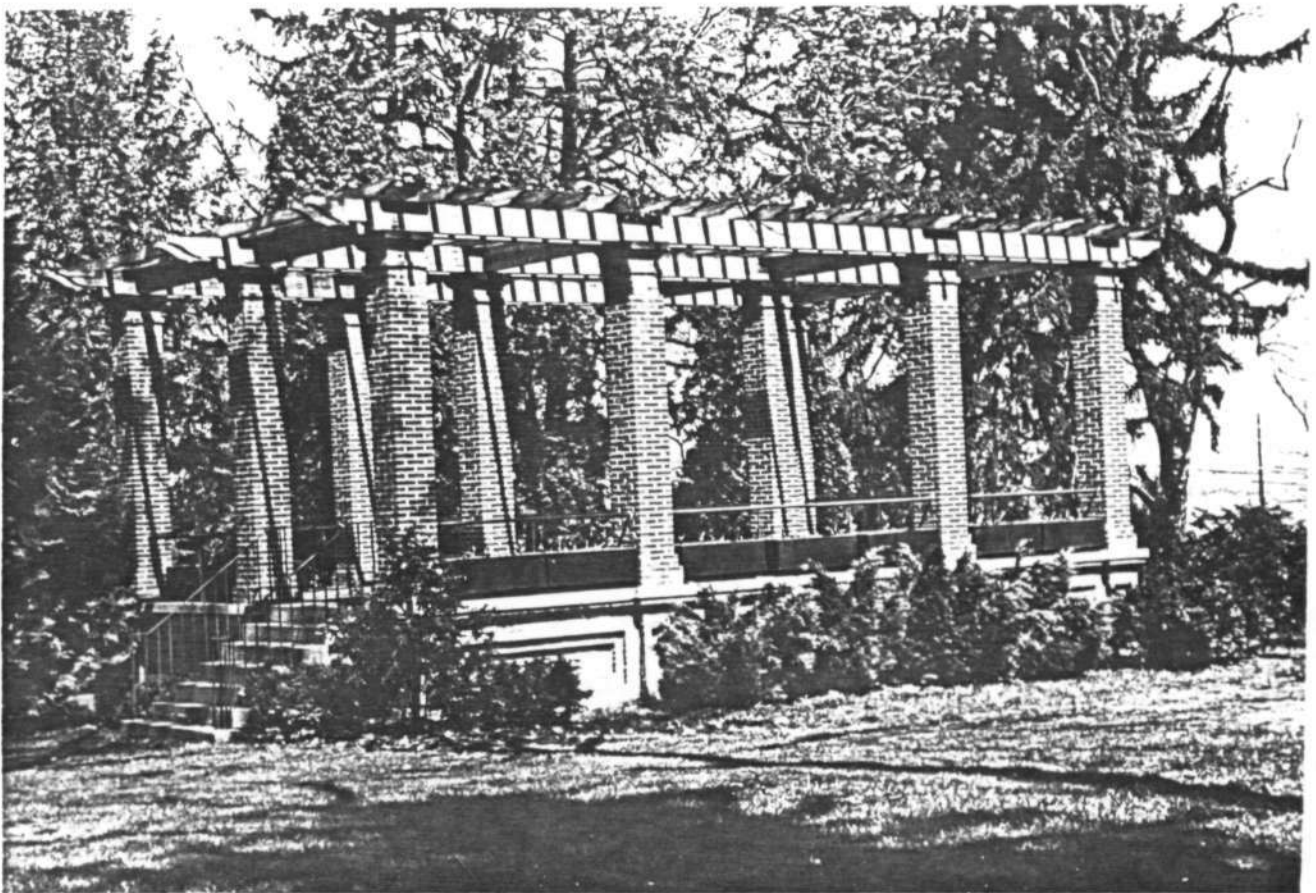
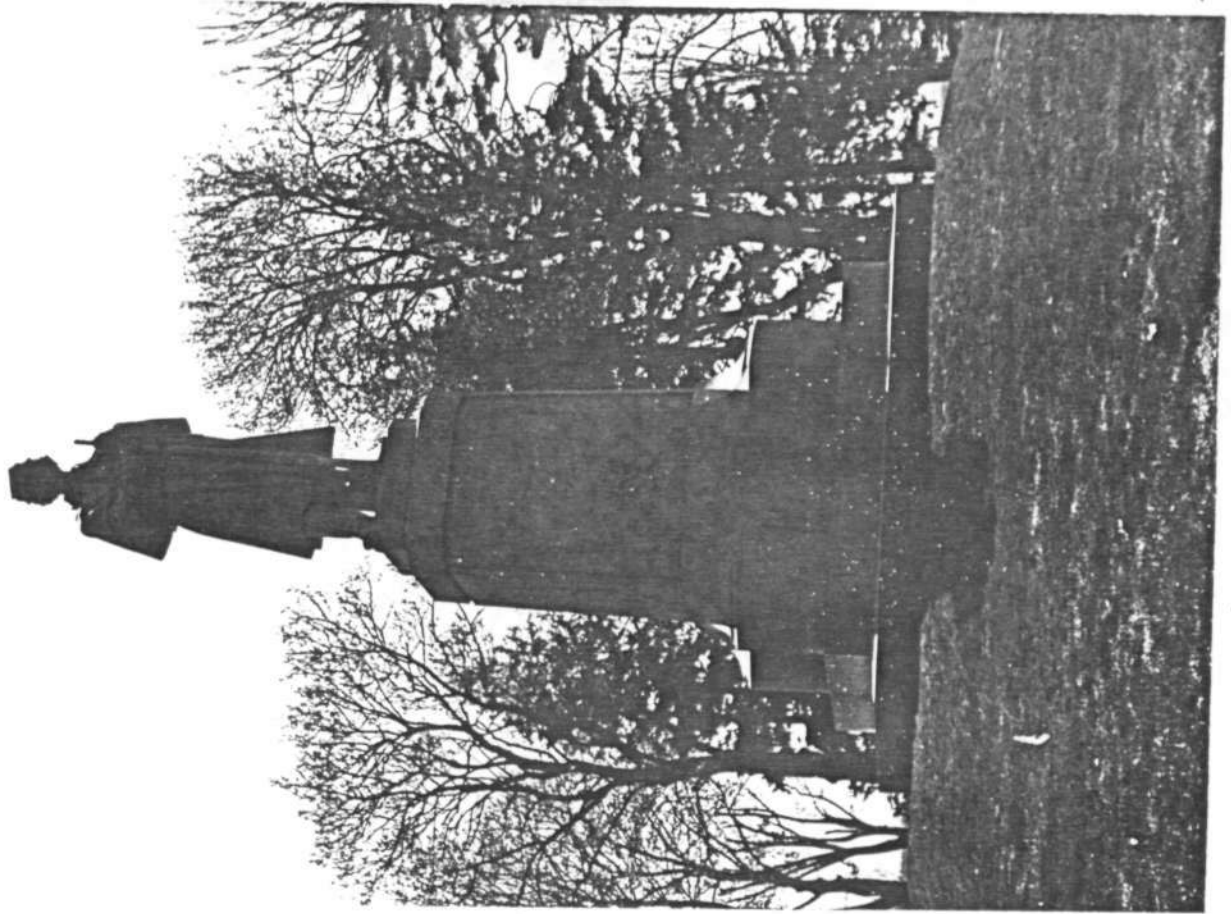




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